Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages I

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

Edited by

Andrew Colin Gow (*Edmonton, Alberta*)

In cooperation with

Sylvia Brown (*Edmonton, Alberta*) – Falk Eisermann (*Berlin*)
Berndt Hamm (*Erlangen*) – Johannes Heil (*Heidelberg*) – Susan C. Karant-Nunn (*Tucson, Arizona*) – Martin Kaufhold (*Augsburg*)
Erik Kwakkel (*Leiden*) – Jürgen Miethke (*Heidelberg*)
Christopher Ocker (*San Anselmo and Berkeley, California*)

Founding Editor

Heiko A. Oberman †

VOLUME 188

Texts & Sources

Edited by

Falk Eisermann (*Berlin*)

VOLUME 6

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/smrtts*

Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages I

The Exposition of the Lord's Prayer *of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA* (*d. 1380*)

Introduction, Text, and Translation by

Eric Leland Saak

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: *Pater noster cum expositione summaria.* Basel: Lienhart Ysenhut, c. 1500. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Einbl. VII,18b. Reproduced with permission.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Saak, Eric Leland.
Catechesis in the later Middle Ages I : the exposition of the Lord's Prayer of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380) : introduction, text, and translation / by Eric Leland Saak.
pages cm. – (Studies in medieval and reformation traditions, ISSN 1573-4188 ; 188. Texts & Sources ; 6)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-28274-2 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-28280-3 (e-book)
1. Lord's prayer–Early works to 1800. 2. Theology–Early works to 1800. 3. Jordan, von Quedlinburg, -1380. Pater noster. I. Jordan, von Quedlinburg, -1380. Pater noster. II. Jordan, von Quedlinburg, -1380. Pater noster. English. III. Title.

BS230.S23 2014
226.9'606–dc23

2014035759

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1573-4188
ISBN 978-90-04-28274-2 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-28280-3 (e-book)

Copyright 2015 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

This book is fondly dedicated
with great appreciation to

Sister Josephine Bushell, SND and
Fr. Tim Buckley, CSsR

and to

the Redemptorists and
Parish of Bishop Eton, Liverpool, UK

Contents

Preface IX
Note on the Citation of Sources XV
List of Tables XVI
Abbreviations XVII

Introduction 1
1 Author 4
2 The Augustinians in the Later Middle Ages 13
3 The Late Medieval Catechetical Endeavor 18
4 The Lord's Prayer in Late Medieval Religion 25
5 Jordan's *Exposition* 30
6 Editing Jordan's *Expositio*: Text and Translation 51

Exposition of the Lord's Prayer

Sigla and Abbreviations 73
Lecture 1 74
Lecture 2 86
Lecture 3 98
Lecture 4 112
Lecture 5 122
Lecture 6 132
Lecture 7 148
Lecture 8 162
Lecture 9 172
Lecture 10 186
Exposition of the Tree of the Virtues and Vices 190

Notes

Notes on the Text 205
Notes on the Work 311

Bibliography 375

Indices

Index of Manuscripts 387
Index of Biblical Citations 388
Index of Ancient and Medieval Authors 394
Index of Names and Places 400

Preface

The text edited and translated here is a fourteenth-century exposition of the Lord's Prayer, composed by the Augustinian hermit, Jordan of Quedlinburg. The edited text is based on the edition of Jordan's *Expositio* that formed part of my 1993 doctoral dissertation under the direction of the late Heiko A. Oberman at the University of Arizona.[1] I have, though, I hope, made improvements, and the *apparatus* are significantly expanded. In 1995 I announced a planned critical edition of Jordan's *Opera Omnia*.[2] For a variety of reasons, that project has never come about. One major contributing factor to the project's demise as originally conceived was the extremely complex textual traditions of many of Jordan's works. Time and financing were major issues, and I lacked both. I then began to consider making Jordan's texts, or some of them anyway, available in something less than a critical edition as it has traditionally been defined by philologists. Migne, for example, is universally criticized, and yet where would medievalists be without Migne? Migne is certainly more reproduction and transcription than edition, but Migne did make a large corpus of texts available, even if not in the most erudite, sophisticated form. Could something like Migne, but more erudite and sophisticated, yet not as comprehensive as a complete critical edition be possible for Jordan? I considered various types of editions and I mulled over the reconceiving and re-planning of a project that was very dear to my heart and of considerable scholarly significance. Other projects took priority, but Jordan was always there; finally, a solution presented itself. In 2001 James Hankins published the first volume of his edition and translation of Leonardo Bruni's *History of the Florentine People* for Harvard's *The I Tatti Renaissance Library*.[3] Hankins stated: "The text presented in this volume cannot claim to be a critical edition as there has been no attempt to survey the manuscript tradition as a whole nor to construct a full recension of the witnesses. My aim has been simply to provide a reliable working edition to serve as a basis for the translation."[4] Here then was a model, at least of sorts, for my edition of Jordan which I could adapt to suit my own goals and

1 E.L. Saak, "*Religio Augustini*: Jordan of Quedlinburg and the Augustinian Tradition in Late Medieval Germany," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1993.

2 E.L. Saak, "Jordani de Quedlinburg Opera Omnia," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 36 (1995): 43–49.

3 Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, vol. 1, edited and translated by James Hankins. The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

4 Hankins, vol. 1, 473.

purposes.[5] When Hankins claimed that he did not attempt to survey the entire manuscript tradition, this did not mean that he did not put a good deal of critical insight into the construction of his text, based on his stated goals and purposes for the edition. Hankins called his edition a 'working edition'; I would call my edition a 'study edition', though I would not enter into a debate on the relative strengths and weaknesses on the theoretical level of a 'working edition' as distinct from a 'study edition'. The point here is that the edition of Jordan's *Expositio* that here follows is, as Hankin's edition of Bruni's *History*, not a critical edition as traditionally understood, even if it is critical to an extent. On the basis of the edition that follows, should someone undertake a comprehensive critical edition of the same work, I would applaud the efforts, and support the need for such labor to the fullest. Yet until such an edition is undertaken, the present edition may suffice for its intended purpose, which is to provide a reliable, readable text and translation of Jordan's *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* for students, scholars, and all those interested in the Lord's Prayer.

The work that follows consists of an introduction to Jordan's text and context, followed by a facing-page edition and translation of his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*. The *apparatus criticus* is presented in endnotes as "Notes on the Text," keyed to the Latin text, followed by the commentary as "Notes on the Work," keyed to the translation. Here one will find reference to Biblical citations, Jordan's sources, cited or otherwise; and other parallel texts. More detailed information on the *apparatus* and commentary is found in section six of the Introduction, 'Editing Jordan's *Expositio*: Text and Translation', which is essential for all scholarly uses of the text here presented. Readers who are most interested in Jordan's exposition of the Lord's Prayer as such can perhaps begin with section five of the Introduction, which treats Jordan's treatise itself. A more thorough introduction to Jordan in the context of his times and with respect to modern scholarship on Jordan is available in section one of the Introduction, and a brief treatment of the Augustinian Hermits in the later Middle Ages is offered in section two. Sections three and four of the Introduction give brief accounts of the late medieval catechetical endevour and the Lord's Prayer in the late medieval context. Not all information present in the Introduction will be relevant to all users, and if readers 'pick and choose' based on interest and need, I certainly have no objection, as if it would make a difference if I did. For all readers though I hope I have provided sufficient introduction to Jordan and his text for the enjoyment and value of reading his *Exposition of the Lord's*

5 Another model influencing my conception of the present work is R.W. Dyson's *Giles of Rome's* On Ecclesiastical Power. *A Medieval Theory of World Government* (New York, 2004).

Prayer that follows. If I have failed to do so, I hope that I leave readers 'wanting more', and perhaps that the present work will serve as a stimulous for further investigation of Jordan, the late medieval Augustinians, and the Lord's Prayer as such, for such is the goal, purpose, and intent of the work that follows.

The text edited here, together with the introduction thereto, has relevance beyond the author and the late medieval Augustinian tradition. While further research on Jordan and the late medieval Augustinian tradition is called for to give us a more complete understanding of late medieval theology, religion, culture, and society, as I have argued,[6] it is as well with respect to the late medieval understandings and uses of the Lord's Prayer and indeed to the late medieval catechetical endeavor as such. It may be surprising, but as detailed below in the Introduction, research on late medieval catechetical works is meager at best. There was no catechism in the later Middle Ages, but there was a plenthora of catechetical works, focused primarily on the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of Faith, together with sermons, works on the virtues and vices, and treatments of the Passion of Christ. It is, perhaps, an attempt to 'kill two birds with one stone', which is as such not an image I reallly like, that this present work is the first of four, which are themselves part of a series of a planned six volumes of Jordan's *Selected Works* (*Opera Selecta*). The planned series is as follows:

Jordani de Quedlinburg, OESA
Opera Selecta/Selected Works

Vol. 1: *Expositio Orationis Dominice*
Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages I: The *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

Vol. 2: *Meditationes de passione Christi*
Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages II: The *Meditations on the Passion of Christ* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

6 See though the recent *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann et al., 3 vols. (Oxford, 2013), as well as my own *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform Between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524*, *SMRT* 89 (Leiden, 2002), and *Creating Augustine. Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2012). I am currently working on producing similar editions and translations to the present one for other works of Jordan (see below).

Vol. 3: *Tractatus de articulis fidei* et *Tractatus de virtutibus et viciis*
Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages III: The *Treatise on the Articles of Faith* and *Treatise on the Virtues and Vices* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

Vol. 4: *Sermones Selecte ex Opere Dan* (*Sermonibus de sanctis*)
Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages IV: Selected *Sermons on the Saints* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

Vol. 5: *Sermones Sancti Augustini*
History, Myth, and Ideology I: The *Sermons of St. Augustine* Collected by Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

Vol. 6: *Vita Sancti Augustini*
History, Myth, and Ideology II: The *Life of St. Augustine* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation

The first four volumes all focus on Jordan's catechetical works, broadly conceived, which, together with the introductions thereto, are intended to contribute to our understanding of the late medieval catechetical endeavor, which in general comprised the process I have called 'religionization'.[7] The last two volumes focus on the creation of religious identity within the late medieval Order of Hermits of St. Augustine (OESA), which itself was a 'micro-religion' within the late medieval religious world,[8] and as such contributed to the religionization process. Thus all six planned volumes are intended to contribute to our understanding not only of Jordan and the late medieval Augustinian tradition, but also to that of late medieval catechesis, broadly conceived, which was a large scale attempt to shape and form "public opinion", providing thereby the requisite background for understanding the emergence of the Reformation and the production of early modern catechisms. This project then has replaced my original dream of producing the critical edition of Jordan's *Opera Omnia*. It is, I believe, doable, though time will tell, and will, I hope, not only make a significant scholarly contribution, but will also bring and make accessible the work of Jordan and his world to a broader audience.

7 On 'religionization', see Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 722–735.

8 On the term 'micro-religion', see ibid., 710–722.

During my work on my dissertation, Manfred Schulze and Walter Simon at the time of the *Institut für Spätmittelalter und Reformation* at the University of Tübingen offered invaluable help, as did, certainly, my *Doktorvater*, the late Heiko A. Oberman. Thereafter, the late Alberic de Meijer, OSA, and Martijn Schrama, OSA, likewise offered their expertise and wise guidance. As a postdoctoral fellow for the Onderzoekschool Mediëvistik, based at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, I benefited greatly from the tutelage, wisdom, and erudition of C.H. Kneepkens, and it was during my time at Groningen that I greatly furthered my skills in dealing with texts and editorial theory. My work on Jordan's *Exposition* made significant progress during my time as a postdoctoral fellow in the Division for the History of Religion at the *Institut für Europäische Geschichte* in Mainz, and has reached its present form within the institutional context of Indiana University, Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

This work could not have come to completion without the support and aid offered by the staff of IUPUI's University Library, and in particular Kristi Palmer, and the Office of Inter Library Loan; Anna Chen and the staff of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Hill Monastic Library; the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz; the Augustijns Instituut in Eindhoven; the British Library; and the Royal Library of Belgium.

I would also like to thank, in addition to those mentioned above: Philip Anderson; Robert Bast; Sr. Dr. Camilla Burns, SND; Fr. Dr. Karl Gersbach, OSA; the Rev. Dr. Jules Gomes; Fr. Dr. Peter McGrail; Karla Pollmann; and Mark Vessey. Special thanks are due Andrew Gow and Falk Eiserman for accepting this volume, and those to follow that will comprise Jordan's *Opera Selecta* in the series of Brill Academic Publishers, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, Texts & Sources*. Falk merits my especial thanks and gratitude, for his contribution to this book has been far more than accepting it in his series. His expertise, erudition, and fastidiousness has made this work far better than it would have been otherwise. My gratitude to and affection for Fr. Timothy Buckley, CSsR and Sister Josephine Bushell, SND are more than I can ever express; to them this work is dedicated as a mere token. My family, though, is deserving of the greatest appreciation and gratitude, having followed me from Indianapolis to Liverpool and back again, and for their patience with and support of a husband and father who is at times all too preoccupied for his own good. Jordan and the late medieval Augustinians are rather permanent house guests, and not always welcome ones by my wife Anja and sons Jonas and Hugo. Their perseverance, by necessity, has been even greater than mine. Yet it has been a perseverance that has been accompanied by a shared joy and excitement, and their questions, comments, corrections, and insights have been indispensable, as has their love and support. That Jor-

dan's *Exposition* is able to be made public, is due in no small part to them as well.

I could only wish that my gratitude to those mentioned above could be demonstrated by the perfection of what follows. As difficult, however, as it may be to accept, or for me to accept, there is no perfection *in hoc saeculo*, as Augustine would put it, and I certainly fall far short of the mark. The extent to which the following work does so, is though due to my own imperfections and does not reflect in any way on the help and advise I have received, gratefully acknowledged here, which has been on a far higher degree of perfection than I can hope to attain. The flaws and imperfections of what follows are mine alone. While Jordan exhorted us all to be saints, T.S. Eliot offers me, in any case, a comfort that helps in managing the necessary tension between the unattainable perfection and the state we find ourselves in, holy or otherwise, with his maxim: *For us there is only the trying. The rest is not our business*.

Eric Leland Saak
Indianapolis
4 June 2014

Notes on the Citation of Sources

Regarding citation of authorities, I cite primary sources in keeping with the list of abbreviations for frequently cited works, both in the notes to the Introduction, and in the commentary (Notes to the Work), followed by foliation or pagination for manuscripts and early printed works, or page numbers in parenthesis for modern editions, and, when available, line numbers. For sources not cited according to the list of abbreviations, I have given full bibliographical references in the footnotes at first instance of citing. The list of abbreviations only include short-title references. Full bibliographical references for all sources can be found in the Bibliography.

Biblical references are to the Vulgate; *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, eds. Bonifatio Fischer, H.I. Frede, Johannes Gribmont, H.F.D. Sparks, W. Thiele, and Robert Weber, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (Stuttgart, 1985), cited according to the abbreviations used therein. Biblical translations are my own, usually directly from Jordan's text cited; variants with the Vulgate are then given in the Notes on the Work. I also give in the Notes on the Work translations from the *New Jerusalem Bible* as a standard, modern academic translation simply for purposes of comparison. At times, when descrepancies merit, I also give the Greek text. All other translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

List of Tables

1 Seven Petitions, virtues, vices, gifts, beatitudes, fruits 32
2 Text Comparison: Jordan's *Expositio* and Ludolph's *Vita Christi* 34
3 Text Comparison: Jordan and Ludolph on *Daily Bread* 37
4 Text Comparison: Jordan and Biel 39
5 Text Comparison: Jordan and Biel 2 41
6 Text Comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel 42
7 Text Comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel 2 42
8 Text Comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel, and Pierre d'Ailly 43
9 Text Comparison: Jordan and d'Ailly 47
10 Text Comparison: Jordan, d'Ailly, and Biel 48
11 Text Comparison: Jordan, d'Ailly, and Biel 2 49
12 Text Comparison: Jordan and the *Pater Noster cum expositio summaria* 50

Abbreviations

AAug.	*Analecta Augustiniana*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
Aug. *civ.*	Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*
Aug. *conf.*	Augustinus, *Confessiones*
Aug. *c.Maximin.*	Augustinus, *Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum*
Aug. *enchir.*	Augustinus, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*
Aug. *epist.*	Augustinus, *Epistolae*
Aug. *de serm.dom.*	Augustinus, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*
Aug. *in evang.Ioh.*	Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium*
Aug. *in psalm.*	Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*
Aug. *lib.arb.*	Augustinus, *De Libero Arbitrio*
Ps.Aug. *cog.vit.*	Ps.Augustinus, *De cognitione verae vitae*
Ps.Aug. *erem.*	Ps.Augustinus, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*
Aug(L)	*Augustiniana*
BGPhMA	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen*
BhTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*
Biel, *CME*	Gabriel Biel, *Canonis Misse Expositio*
Bloomfield	Morton W. Bloomfield, et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.*
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
Cassian. *coll.pat.*	Cassianus, *Collationes Patrum*
CCC	*Catechism of the Roman Cathlic Church*
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Chrysost. *hom. in Matth.*	Chrysostomus, *Homeliae in Mattheum*
Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.*	Ps.Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*
Const. Ratis.	*Constitutiones Ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini*
Cypr. *domin. orat.*	Cyprianus, *De Dominica Oratione*
d'Ailly, *Tract.*	Pierre d'Ailly, *Tractatus de Oratione Dominica*
Dam. *fid.orth.*	Iohannes Damascenus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*
Durandus, *Rat.*	*Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*
Eggelinus, *CME*	Eggelinus Becker of Braunschweig, *Canonis Misse Expositio*
Glos.ord.	*Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*
Greg.M. *ex al.*	Ps.Gregorius Magnus, *Expositio Novi Testamenti*

Greg.M. *in evang.*	Gregorius Magnus, *Liber Homiliarum in Evangelia*
Greg.M. *moral.*	Gregorius Magnus, *Morialia in Iob*
Greg.M. *pastoral.*	Gregorius Magnus, *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*
Greg.M. *sacr.*	Gregorius Magnus, *Liber Sacramentorum*
Hen. *Exp.*	Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*
Hier. *in Matth.*	Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Mattheum*
Hug.SV. *Ar.An.*	Hugo de S. Victore, *De Arrha Animae*
Hug.SV. *Arc. Moral.*	Hugo de S. Victore, *De Arca Noe Morali*
Isid. *diff.*	Isodorus, *Differentiarum*
Lombardus *Sent.*	Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*
LXX	*Septuaginta*
MGH.SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*
Ms(s)	Manuscript(s)
MTU	*Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen literatur des Mittelalters*
NJB	*The New Jerusalem Bible*
OGE	*Ons Geestelijk Erf*
OGHRA	*Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*
PG	*Patrologia cursus completus: series Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus: series Latina*
PNcES	*Pater noster cum expositione summaria*
SHCT	*Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*
SMRT	*Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*
SB	Staatsbibliothek
SBB	Staatbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz
StB	Stadtsbibliothek
SuR	*Spätmittelalter und Reformation Texte und Untersuchungen*
Thom.Aq. *CA*	Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea in Quatuor Evangelia*
Thom.Aq. *STh*	Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*
Thom.Aq. *Sup.Matth*	Thomas Aquinas, *Super Evangelium S. Matthaei Lectura*
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
VC	Ludolphus Carthusiensis, *Vita Jesu Christi*
VF	*Jordani de Saxonia, Liber Vitasfratrum*
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke*
WAT	*D. Martin Luthers Werke, Tischreden*
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*
Zumkeller, *MSS*	Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheke*

Introduction

In the Middle Ages, there was no catechism. Catechisms were the product of the Reformation, beginning with Luther's Larger and Smaller Catechisms of 1529.[1] The function of such catechetical instruction was to ensure that the faithful learned the fundamentals of the faith, the new faith of the evangelicals, and, after 1529, of the 'Protestants'. Catholics soon followed suit.[2]

---

1 *WA* 301; see also Luther's *Der Kleine Catechismus fur die gemeine Pfarrherr und Prediger*, *WA* 30.239–345; *idem*, *Ein kurcz form der zehn gepott D.M.L., Ein kurcz form des Glaubens, Ein kurcz form dess Vatter unssers, WA* 7.204–229. There were, however, certainly late medieval forebearers of the early modern Catechism. The term 'catechesis' was also used previous to Luther, but it referred simply to instruction. The first case of 'catechism' being used to refer to what approximates the early modern genre was the *Catechismus Vaurensis* of 1368; see Robert I. Bradley, *The Roman Catechism in the Catechetical Tradition of the Church. The Structure of the Roman Catechism as Illustrative of the "Classic Catechesis"* (New York, 1990), 85. Bradley though still argues that Luther's *Small Catechism* "became—for all practical purposes—the *first* 'catechism'." Ibid., 93. Bradley sees Calvin's *Institutes*, at least in the 1536 edition, as also being to a large extent a catechism; ibid. Calvin's work was followed in 1563 by the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which was, according to Bradley, "designed to be *the* Protestant catechism deriving from both Wittenberg and Geneva." Ibid., 94. For a more complete treatment of catechisms and catechetical literature in the later Middle Ages and the continuity with early modern catechisms, see the excellent study by Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers. Catechisms and the Emergence of A Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600*, *SMRT* 63 (Leiden, 1997). See also Christoph Weismann, *Die Katechismen des Johannes Brenz*, vol. 1: *Die Entstehungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, *SuR* 21 (Berlin, 1990), 1–20. Weismann noted: "Aber erst die Reformation hat den Begriff im bewußten Anschluß an die Alte Kirche aufgegriffen und neu gefüllt. Luther versteht unter Katechismus nun wieder ganz breit sowohl den Unterricht (manchmal geradezu im Sinne von Gottesdienst, Lehrstunde) als auch Stoff der Unterweisung und er überträgt als erster (seit 1525) den Begriff auch auf das Buch, das diesen Stoff enthält." Ibid., 3–4. It is in this sense that I asserted that there was no catechism in the Middle Ages, though there was catechetical literature. The best treatment of catechetical literature in the later Middle Ages is P. Egino Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters, Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, *MTU* 10 (München, 1965), though the older work of Peter Göbl still offers the most general introduction; Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfalle des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880).

2 See, for example, *Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini*, ad Parochos (Cologne, 1567; VD 16 K 2053); Munich BSB copy available online at http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+K+2053; the Roman Catechism was first published in 1563.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_002

There was, however, certainly religious instruction in the later Middle Ages, and the later Middle Ages were actually a period during which catechetical literature flourished. Such texts we would today classify in general within the broad genre of pastoral theology, which as such included works designed for the instruction of the clergy as well as those particularly intended for the laity. Pastoral literature in this sense included sermons and model sermon collections, exegetical handbooks, preaching aids, doctrinal works, theological treatises, devotional works, and biblical commentaries. Yet for teaching the laity the fundamentals of the faith, the Lord's Prayer was primary, for the Lord's Prayer, as the fourteenth-century Augustinian Hermit Augustinus of Ancona asserted, exceeded all other prayers,[3] a judgement with which Gabriel Biel strongly agreed in his *Exposition of the Canon of the Mass*, published 1488 (GW 4332), and avidly studied by Martin Luther as he was preparing for ordination to the priesthood. The Lord's Prayer, Biel claimed, surpassed all other prayers with respect to its dignity, its brevity, and its efficacy, so that no one is to be ignorant of the Lord's Prayer.[4] The Lord's Prayer, after all, was a prayer everyone prayed at every mass, and for the illiterate, it formed the very foundation of their worship. The *Constitutions* of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine (OESA) stipulated that all brothers begin each liturgical hour by praying the *Pater Noster* silently and crossing themselves facing the altar.[5] Lay brothers, that is the *illiterati*, do so as well. During Matins, rather than singing the office, lay brothers and the illiterate should say twenty-five *Pater Nosters*, concluding each with an *Ave Maria*. For Lauds, ten *Pater Nosters* are prescribed as are for Vespers. The other hours are to be performed with seven *Pater Nosters*.[6] The *Pater Noster* was certainly a prayer for all, but it had special importance for the *illiterati*, for whom it comprised the divine

3 Augustinus de Ancona, *In orationem dominicam* (Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1587; USTC 861233), 2–3.

4 Biel, *CME* lect. 68, 3: 52 ff.

5 "Pulsato itaque ultimo signo, et ad signum Maioris dicto sub silentio Pater noster, Fratres dicant Matutinum de beata Virgine, versi ad altare et crucis signaculo se signantes, quo tam in inchoatione Horarum beatae Virginis quam diei volumus observari." *Const. Ratis.* 1,7 (32).

6 "Fratres Laici, praemisso *Pater noster*, quod dicere debent sicut Clerici ad omnes Horas, vel flexis genibus vel inclinati profunde reverenter incipiant Matutinum de beata Virgine … Dicant autem pro Matutinis viginit quinque *Pater noster*, et in fine cuiuslibet, excepto ultimo, dicant *Ave, Maria*, etc … Omni autem tempore, dicant pro Matutinis vigini quinque *Pater noster*, et pro Laudibus decem … Pro qualibet autem Hora de die dicant septem *Pater noster*, sed pro Vesperis decem …" *Const. Ratis.* 2, 9–11 (33–34).

office.[7] The same held true for the laity. In 1472, the Carthusian Werner Rolevinck concluded his *De Regimine Rusticorum* with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, to teach the laity and the illiterate the basic principles of the faith, for the Lord's Prayer is the primary Christian prayer, most known to the laity.[8] Moreover, repetitions of the *Pater Noster* were often given as part of penances, thus giving the prayer an even greater and broader role in society than one strictly limited to the liturgy. Guido of Monte Rochen, for example, in his *Handbook for Curates*, composed in the early 1330s, explained "that one Our Father imposed as penance by the priest is more efficacious to satisfy for sins than if someone were to say a hundred thousand on his own."[9] The words themselves of the prayer took on magical powers, serving as a textual amulet as, among other things, protection against the devil and functioning as a demarcation of sacred space.[10]

In this light, it is therefore surprising that scholarship on the *Pater Noster* in the later Middle Ages is meagre at best. There has been no comprehensive study of the role of the Lord's Prayer in medieval religion.[11] Yet if one wants to understand the religious life of the laity in the Middle Ages, one cannot ignore the Lord's Prayer, which served as the fundamental component of religious instruction. Together with the *Ave Maria*, the Ten Commandments, the Twelve Articles of Faith, and meditations on the Passion of Christ, the *Pater Noster* was one of the pillars of the late medieval catechetical endeavour, and remained such after the emergence of the early modern Catechism in the Reformation.[12] One of the most widely spread expositions of the Lord's

7 "Fratres vero, qui psallere et cantare aut nesciunt, sicut idiotae et illiterati, aut non possunt, sicut senes et valitudinarii, pro horis suis dicant Pater Noster, prout docet Pater noster Augustinus …" *VF* 2,14 (184, 123–125).

8 Egidius Holzapfel, ed., *Werner Rolevincks Bauernspiegel. Untersuchung und Neuherausgabe von 'De Regimine Rusticorum'*, Freiburger Theologische Studien 76 (Basel/Freiburg im Breisgau, 1959), 107–108, 142–144.

9 Guido of Monte Rochen, *Manipulus curatorum*, 2,3,10; *Handbook for Curates. A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, trans. by Anne T. Thayer, with an Introduction by Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi (Washington D.C., 2011), 241.

10 Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words. Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2006), 90–93; Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World. Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington, D.C., 2009), 99–105.

11 See below section 4.

12 The late medieval catechetical endeavor provides a requisite context for interpreting the development of the catechisms in the Reformation and their function for early modern religion. Bast has shown that there was considerable continuity in fundamental aspects of catechetical instruction between the later Middle Ages and the Reformation with respect

Prayer in the later Middle Ages was that by the Augustinian Hermit, Jordan of Quedlinburg, and it is Jordan's exposition that is presented here for the first time.

1 Author

In 1854, Willem Moll claimed that there were two outstanding preachers who exercised a special influence on the religious life of The Netherlands: Bernard of Clairvaux and Jordan of Quedlinburg.[13] And yet, it was to be another 104 years before the first monograph on Jordan was published. Robrecht Lievens based his work on the extant manuscripts of Jordan's works in The Netherlands, giving concrete evidence of Moll's estimation.[14] Unfortunately, Lievens' book is also the last monograph to have been written on Jordan, who was one of the many Augustinian friars of the later Middle Ages about whom we know so little today.

Jordan was born c. 1299 in Quedlinburg,[15] where the Augustinian cloister

---

at least to the Ten Commandments and the further development of patriarchy; see Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*. Such an approach sheds important light not only on the theological transformation from medieval to early modern Europe, but also on the religious, social, cultural, and political transformations.

13 Moll, *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw*, (Amsterdam, 1854), 159.

14 "Wie echter Jordanus tot het onderwerp van zijn studie wil maken, ziet zich genoodzaakt alles van de grondvesten af op te bouwen. Dit moeizaam en langzaam onderzoek naar Jordanushss. is uitgegroeid tot een tamelijk omvangrijke catalogus, waarin niet minder dan 76 hss. werden opgenomen, alle geschreven binnen het gebied der Nederlanden. Van deze 76 zijn er 53 Dietse, die ons de sermoenen of de 65 artikelen uit het *Opus Postillarum et Sermonum* in vertaling brengen. Behalve door de verdietsing van de bijbel, van Bernardus en van de Imitatio, zal dit getal ten onzent wel niet door veel auteurs overtroffen worden" Robrecht Lievens, *Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden. Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften* (Gent, 1958), vii.

15 For Jordan's biography, see Winfridus Hümpfner's Introduction to the edition of Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum*; Adalbero Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, v. 5: *Die Sächsisch-Thüringische Provinz und die Sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der Beiden* (Würzburg, 1974); Adolar Zumkeller, "Jordan von Quedlinburg (Jordanus de Saxonia)," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 853–861; Zumkeller, "Jourdain de Saxe ou de Quedlinburg, ermite de Saint-Augustin, vers 1300–1380 (1370?)," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974), 1423–1430; *ibidem*, "Jordan(us) von Quedlinburg (von Sachsen). Augustiner-Eremit, geistlicher und homiletischer Schriftsteller, c. 1300–1380," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (Berlin 1974), 597–598; David Gutierrez, O.S.A., *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1357–1517*, (Villanova, Pennsylvania, 1983);

had recently been established in 1295,[16] and he could have entered the Order as early as 1313. From 1317 to 1319 he studied at the Order's *studium generale* in Bologna under Johannes de Lana and Albert of Padua. Jordan then proceeded to the *studium* at Paris where after three years of further work he obtained the degree of Lector. After completing his studies in Paris in 1322, Jordan next appears as Lector at Erfurt in 1327, at which time he published his *Expositio Orationis Dominice* at the request of his students. Although he never became a master of theology or of law, his abilities in these areas were well respected. In 1336, by which time Jordan was Lector in Magdeburg, he served as inquisitor in the Brandenburg city of Angermünde, and in 1350 he presided at the trial of Constantine of Erfurt.[17] Jordan's legal knowledge and experience were complemented by his administrative duties within the Order which culminated in his Provincialate of his home province during the years 1345–1351.[18] After 1351 we know of Jordan only through his literary production, his *Liber Vitasfratrum*,

---

Rudolf Arbesmann, "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini: The Source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine," *Traditio* 1 (1943): 341–353; F. Rennhofer, "Jordan v. Quedlinburg (J.v. Sachsen)," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* V (1960): 1120; and E.L. Saak, "Jordan of Quedlinburg," *OGHRA* 3: 1234–1236.

16 Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, v. 1: *Das dreizehnte Jahrhundert*, (Würzburg, 1969), 82; 222–224.

17 *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, ed. Guilelmus Schum, *MGH.SS* XIV (Hannover, 1883; reprint: New York, 1963), 434–435; See also, Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*, (Berkeley, 1972), 28, 151, 128–130. In addition, Henry of Friemar, the Prior Provincial of the Saxon province, entrusted Jordan with the responsibility of adjudicating the case of the murder of Burchard, Archbishop of Magdeburg, in 1325. See, *Gesta archiep. Magd.*, *MGH.SS* XIV, 430–434; *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Unser Lieben Frauen zu Magdeburg*, ed. Gustav Hertel, (Halle, 1878), 171, nr. 187; 174, nr. 192; 183, nr. 201.

18 Jordan attended the Chapter General at Siena in 1338 as the elected representative for the Saxon-Thuringian Province. In 1343 he was charged with making the canonical visitation of the French Augustinians, and served as the Vicarius Prioris Generalis for the Chapter General in Barfleur (See, *VF*, xv; see also, Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, v. 5, 39). It is possible that Jordan was Prior Provincial of his home province from 1340–1343, but the evidence for this is slight. It is based on Jordan's account of the death of Henry of Friemar in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*; *VF* 2, 13 (154). Jordan records that the Prior Provincial was present at Henry's death bed. Jordan states: "… Prior Provincialis, qui affuit et dotatus pro tunc a Sede apostolicae et a Priore Generali singularibus gratiis fuit, absolutionem largam et bene copiosam fecit." *VF* 2,13 (154). Hümpfner argued that Jordan, "… himself was probably the Provincial who visited the sick friar … and gave him general absolution." (*VF*, xv). While this supposition is certainly possible, there is only firm documentation for Jordan's later Provincialate during the years 1345–1351.

completed by 1357, the *Meditationes de passione Christi*, and his three major collections of sermons; the *Opus Postillarum*, *Opus Jor* (*Sermones de tempore*), and the *Opus Dan* (*Sermones de sanctis*).

Jordan was not an original thinker. He left no masterpieces of literary or philosophical 'significance'. Yet he composed more sermons, extant in more manuscripts than any other Augustinian in the Later Middle Ages.[19] In addition, there are more extant manuscripts of his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* and *Opus Postillarum* than there are of any *Sentences* commentary of an Augustinian doctor of theology. It is thus all the more surprising that Jordan, as the *Pater Noster* itself, has received scant attention in scholarship.

In the later fifteenth century, the General of the Order, Ambrosius de Cora, listed Jordan among forty-two noteworthy Augustinian scholars, as well as

19 There are 460 sermons in the 153 manuscripts of the *Opus Postillarum*, printed in 1483 (GW M15120); 292 comprising the *Opus Jor*; 271 in his *Sermones de Sanctis* (*Opus Dan*), proliferated in 65 manuscripts and 6 printed editions (GW M15119; GW M1512510; GW M151203; GW M15117); 75 sermons comprising his *Quadragesimale*; and various other miscellaneous sermons contained in mansucripts scattered throughout Europe; at least 1098 in all. See Zumkeller, *MSS*, nr. 648 (300) for Jordan's *Opus Postillarum;* ibid., nr. 643 (292) for the *Opus Jor* (extant in only three manuscripts and never printed); ibid., nr. 641 (287) for the *Opus Dan*; ibid., nr. 650 (313) for the *Quadragesimale*; see also ibid, nr. 651 (315) for *Sermones quadragesimale, opus aliud*, extant in only one manuscript: Kolmar Konsist. Bibl. 21 (1951), a. 1420, fol. 2–133); and for what Zumkeller lists as *Sermones diversi*, see ibid., nr. 653 (315). In addition, there are extant middle-high and middle-low German translations of at least segments of his *Opus Postillarum*; see ibid. nr. 648a (310) and nr. 648b (311); Eef Overgaauw, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe B in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, vol. 1 *Ms. B1 bis B 100* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 307–310; copy available online at: http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ihd/content/titleinfo/4540171; and the *sermones de sancto Augustino* from the *Opus Dan* circulated in a low German translation; Zumkeller, *MSS*. 641a (291). See also J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols., *BGPhMA* 43/1 (Münster, 1969–1990), 802–864. Schneyer gives 575 entries (a numbering which does not include the numerous subsermons). This compares, for example, to the 454 listings for Henry of Friemar (*BGPhMA* 43/2, 639–673) and the 393 for Albert of Padua (*BGPhMA* 43/1, 124–150). Zumkeller lists 22 manuscripts of Albert's *Postilla super evangelia dominicalia* (*MSS*, nr. 83 (50)) and 5 for Albert's *Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia* (ibid., nr. 85 (51)). The printing history of Albert's two collections, however, rivaled Jordan's. The *Postilla super evangelia dominicalia* went through 6 editions (Venice 1476; Ulm 1480 [GW 784, 785]; Turin 1529; Paris 1540, 1544 and 1586), and the *Quadragesimale* 4 (Venice 1523; Turin 1527; Paris 1544; and Venice 1584). Henry's *Sermones de tempore* and *Sermones super epistolas et evangelia dominicalia* are both rather short; see Zumkeller, *MSS*, nr. 331 (158) for the former and nr. 332 (159) for the latter. For Henry's other sermons, see ibid., nr. 333 (159); nr. 333a (161) and nr. 333b (162).

among the brothers of outstanding holiness.[20] Since then Jordan continued to be mentioned in histories of the Order, and he is given a place in the standard history of Saxon-Thuringia.[21] Kunzelmann lists Jordan together with Henry of Friemar and Herman Schildesche as the three great lectors of the Order's *studium generale* in Erfurt during the first half of the fourteenth century.[22] In addition, Jordan is given center stage in accounts of the Order's spirituality.[23]

---

20 "Haec autem secunda pars huius cronicae in tres consumitur partes. Prima virorum doctorum excellentiam explicabit. Secunda, sanctorum patrum nostrum sanctimonia complectetur; tertia ut de pontificibus, qui hunc ordinem post eius unionem gratiis sunt prosecuti … Vigesimus secundus fuit magister Iordanus, qui multarum antiquitatum indagator extitit. Hic pulchrum quadragesime fecit, diffusam appollogiam ordinis condidit, apocalipsim exposuit, multosque sermones, tractatus, et questiones de diversis materiebus scripsit." Ambrosius de Cora, *Defensorium ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, Cronica Sacratissimi Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, (Georg Herolt: Rome, 1481; GW M21530), 223, 229; see Zumkeller, *MSS*, nr. 93 (55). (I used a microfilm of the copy of this work in Uppsala, UB, Inc. 33:122, published without pagination or foliation. The page numbers were determined counting the first page of text as page one. The work consists of 237 pages. The microfilm used was made as part of *Italian Books Before 1601*, Reel 302.) When Ambrosius turned to enumerating the brothers of outstanding holiness, he began with the saints of the Order: Augustine, Simplicianus, Guilelmus Gallicus, and Nicolaus de Tolentino. He then noted: "Secuntur nunc beati, qui quamvis multis claruerunt miraculis non tamen adhuc sunt canonizati." (235). Jordan is listed twenty-eighth of thirty six, as "beatus Jordanus de Saxonia" (237). Concerning Jordan's supposed exposition on the Apocalypse, which is extant in a single manuscript (Munich, BSB Clm. 6102, fol. 77^{r}–128^{v}), see Zumkeller, *MSS*, nr. 638 (286). Jordan's authorship is mentioned in addition by Elssius and Ossinger (see n. 21 below). It remains to be shown, however, whether Jordan is indeed the author of this particular exposition, or whether an exposition on the Apocalypse from Jordan's hand has not survived.

21 P. Elssius, *Encomiasticon Augustinianum*, (Bruxellis, 1654; reprint: Westmead, Farnborough, Hanks, England, 1970), 411–412; Johann Felix Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, (Ingolstadt, 1768; reprint: Torino, 1963), 800–802. See also the bibliographical references Ossinger gives, which includes Johannes Trithemius' *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (288, col. 1546), but not Ambrosius' *Chronica*; Kunzelmann, *Geschichte*, 5:13, 34 ff.; see also, David Gutierrez, O.S.A., *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages*. Jordan is briefly mentioned by Hans K. Schulze and Erich Kleineidam in their articles in, *Geschichte Thüringens*, ed. Hans Patze and Walter Schlesinger, vol. II/2: *Hohes und Spätes Mittelalter*, (Köln/Wien, 1973), 96, 156.

22 Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, 5:13.

23 See Zumkeller, "Die Lehrer des Geistlichen Lebens unter den deutschen Augustinern vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Konzil von Trient," in *Sanctus Augustinus, vitae spiritualis magister*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1959), 2:246–248 and *passim*; Zumkeller, "Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke bei den deutschen Predigern des Spätmittelalters," *ZKTh* 81 (1959): 265–305.

Yet the most comprehensive account of Jordan's life and works is Winfridus Hümpfner's introduction to the edition of Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum*.[24]

Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* is his only work to have received a modern critical edition. Based on this work, Fulgence Mathes devoted considerable space to Jordan in his monograph on the issue of poverty within the Order.[25] As portrayed by Mathes, Jordan appears as a staunch defender of the Augustinians' *via media* in the mid fourteenth-century poverty controversy, and his *Liber Vitasfratrum* is credited with having laid down the fundamental principles of Augustinian religious observance in a systematic outline. Mathes' study is a detailed investigation of Jordan's view of poverty but is little more than an exposition of the text. A more comprehensive portrait of Jordan is needed.

The late ninteenth-century historians of German preaching, R. Cruel and A. Linsenmayer, included brief treatments of Jordan in their works.[26] Jordan is portrayed as a scholastic preacher, whose sermons, according to Cruel, contain exempla drawn from all fields of natural science.[27] However, rather than offering a detailed analysis of Jordan as preacher, Cruel and Linsenmayer limited themselves to a cursory treatment, placing Jordan's works in general categories of medieval sermon literature. Moreover, both authors were confused by the various sermon collections Jordan wrote. Cruel equated Jordan's *Opus Jor* and *Opus Dan* with the *Opus Postillarum*,[28] and Linsenmayer did the same with the *Opus Jor*.[29] Jordan's sermons have never been studied systematically, and

---

24 In 1974 Kunzelmann essentially followed this account in volume five of his history of the German Augustinians. Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, 5:34 f.

25 Mathes, "The Poverty Movement and the Augustinian Hermits," *AAug.* 31 (1968): 5–154; *AAug.* 32 (1969):5–116; chapter four focuses on Jordan and his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, *AAug.* 32 (1969):79–110.

26 Rudolf Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, (Detmold, 1879); Anton Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, (Munich, 1886).

27 "... [Jordan's Opus postillarum] fügt auch ein neues Element hinzu, was in diesem Umfange früher noch nicht gebräuchlich war. Das ist die Verwendung von gelehrten Kenntnissen und Notizen aus allen Fächern der Naturwissenschaft, aus Astronomie, Physik, Alchemie, Medicin, Geographie und der Geschichte der Pflanzen, Thiere und Steine. Man könnte solche Predigten, welche ihre Eintheilung oder Ausführung aus der gleichenWerken schöpfen, physikalische oder naturgeschichtliche Predigten nennen." Cruel, *Geschichte*, 426.

28 "Das Werk [*Opus Postillarum*] zerfällt in zwei Theile *De Tempore* und *De Sanctis*, welche er nach den beiden Silben seines Namens *Opus Jor* und *Opus Dan* benennt." Cruel, *Geschichte*, 422.

29 Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt*, 457.

Hümpfner noted that it is "nearly impossible" to ascertain from manuscript catalogues which collection of Jordan's sermons the manuscript contains.[30] Perhaps this is a reason why Jordan is virtually absent from the most recent survey of German preaching in the Middle Ages, which is also the most comprehensive account since Cruel and Linsenmayer.[31] His name appears a mere five times, all in a single article dealing with sermons employing knowledge of the natural world. He is mentioned as a mere *exemplum* himself, as a named dropped, without information or analysis to improve the state of scholarship of the past one hundred years.[32]

Jeremiah Hackett has studied Jordan's *Opus postillarum* to investigate the relationship between Jordan and Meister Eckhart.[33] Hackett has demonstrated that Jordan quoted and paraphrased passages from Eckhart's *Expositio Sancti Evangelii secundum Iohannem*, although Jordan was critical of his Dominican contemporary's more unorthodox doctrines. Confirming the view of Joseph Koch, Hackett argues that Jordan's sermons are, "important for the reconstruction of the text of the expositio on St. John by Meister Eckhart," and that Jordan, having been an inquistor, "is of primary importance for our picture of how Meister Eckhart's contemporaries understood him."[34] Hackett's work is an indication of the fruit that may lie hidden in Jordan's sermons. Yet before we can reap a harvest, much textual work will have to be done.

---

30 *VF*, xl–xli.

31 *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*. Internationales Symposium am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin von 3.-6. Oktober 1989, ed. Volker Mertens und Hans-Jochen Schiewer, (Tübingen, 1992).

32 Elisabeth Schinagl-Peitz, "Naturkundliches Wissen in lateinischen und deutschen Predigten des Spätmittelalters," in *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*, 285–300.

33 Jeremiah Hackett, "The Use of a text quotation from Meister Eckhart by Jordan of Quedlinburg OSA," *Proceedings of the Patristic-Medieval and Renaissance Conference* 2, (Villanova, 1977), 97–102; *ibidem*, "Verbum mentalis conceptio in Meister Eckhart and Jordanus of Quedlinburg. A Text Study," in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie der Société internationale pour l'Êtude de la Philosophie Médiévale, 29 August–3 September 1977, 2 vol., (Berlin-New York, 1979), 2:1003–1011.

34 Hackett, "Verbum mentalis conceptio," 1004; cf., Joseph Koch, "Meister Eckharts Weiterwirken im Deutsch-Niederländischen Raum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in Koch, *Kleine Schriften* 2 vol., Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi 127 (Rome, 1973), 1:429–455; 443–446 (originally published in *La mystique rhénane*, Colloque de Strasbourg 16–19 Mai 1961, Travaux du centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, (Strassburg, 1963), 133–156). There are, however, no parallels between Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* and Eckhardt's *Super Oratione Dominicae*.

A first step in this direction is the 1958 study of Lievens mentioned above, the most detailed textual study of Jordan's works to date.[35] In addition to a thorough analysis of Jordan's manuscripts in the Netherlands, Lievens edited a selection from the early Dutch translations of Jordan's sermons, and the Prologue and first article of the translation of Jordan's *Meditationes de Passione Christi*. Lievens' work, however, is not without its limits. After a brief sketch of Jordan's life, Lievens focuses exclusively on the textual history of Jordan's works in the Netherlands. There is little interpretation and no comprehensive account of Jordan's teaching and influence. Nevertheless, Lievens' study is a mine of erudition and information; unfortunately he has had no followers.

In addition to the editorial work of Lievens, in 1911 J. Flensburg edited a volume of selections from the Middle Low German version of Jordan's sermons,[36] and in 1965 Romana Guarnieri edited a small selection of sermons—seven pages in modern print—which concern the heresy of the "Free Spirit" from Jordan's *Opus Postillarum* and *Opus Jor*.[37] Finally, J.M. Willeumier-Schalij has edited the prayers of the sixty-five articles of the *Meditationes* from the early Dutch translations.[38]

Jordan's *Meditationes* circulated more widely than any other work on the Passion written by an Augustinian before the *Coelifodina* of Johannes von Paltz. Walter Baier has provided us with the most thorough study of this treatise to date in his monumental three-volume work on Jordan's contemporary, Ludolph of Saxony.[39] Baier's work contains substantial sections on Jordan's *Meditationes* and a brief treatment of his *Expositio Psalterii*. Regarding the former, Baier

35 Robrecht Lievens, *Jordanus van Quedlinburg* (as in note 14 above).

36 Johannes Flensburg, *Die mittelniederdeutschen Predigten des Jordanes* [*sic*] *von Quedlinburg in Auswahl*, (Lund, 1911). Flensburg printed fourteen sermons from Jordan's *Opus Jor*, from Ms. I 80 of the Diocesan Seminary of Münster; see *VF*, xli.

37 Romana Guarieneri, "Il movimento del Libero Spirito", in *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà* IV (1965):351–708. The edited sermons of Jordan are to be found on 444–450.

38 J.M. Willeumier-Schalij, "De LXV Artikelen van de Passie van Jordanus van Quedlinburg in middelnederlandse handschriften", *OGE* 53 (1979):15–35.

39 Walter Baier, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolf von Sachsen. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie*, 3 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 44, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, (Salzburg, 1977). Published in 1977, Baier's book was his doctoral dissertation and originated as a comparison between Ludolph's *Vita Christi* and Jordan's *Meditationes*. Baier soon realized that such an investigation was less than satisfactory since Ludolph seemingly appropriated the most important parts of Jordan's *Meditationes*. Baier, therefore, refocused his project on a comprehensive analysis of Ludolph's sources and a general study of his *Vita Christi*; see Baier, *Untersuchungen*, 1:11.

challenges the previously held assumption that Jordan incorporated his *Meditationes* into his *Opus postillarum*.[40] Baier persuasively argues that the *Meditationes* stemmed from Jordan's sermons and should be dated c.1364.[41]

This re-dating also places the relationship between Jordan's *Meditationes* and Ludolph's *Vita Christi* in different light. Baier argues that Ludolph was not dependent on Jordan since the *Vita Christi* was composed no later than 1368 and perhaps as early as 1348.[42] Neither, however, was Jordan dependent on Ludolph, but rather, both drew on a common source or sources.[43] Since both authors were stylistically exceptional in dividing their works on the passion into articles, Baier postulates an otherwise unknown source which he designates the *Articulus-Quelle*.[44]

A similar textual relationship exists between Jordan's *Expositio Psalterii* and Ludolph's *Enarratio in Psalmos*. Erfurt Stadtbibliothek (deposited in the Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ampl. F. 75) contains what Hümpfner called, "a fairly extensive expositio"[45] on the Psalms, dated c. 1378. The Prologue of the text explicitly attributes it to Jordan,[46] although this has never been confirmed by thorough study. There are many similarities between the works of Jordan and Ludolph, and both drew from a common source, the *Expositio Alani*, composed by Alan of Lille or one of his students.[47] Baier argues that Jordan's *Expositio* should be dated after 1365 based on the date of the single Erfurt manuscript.[48] He admits that the work has never been studied previously but does not ques-

---

40 Baier points to article 64 of the *Meditationes* in which Jordan cites his own sermon 81 of the *Opus postillarum*; Baier, *Untersuchungen*, 2.3.13.1; 2:312 f. The oldest manuscripts of the *Meditationes* include this reference which gives weightier evidence to Baier's position than Hümpfner's argument based on the 1483 edition of the *Opus Postillarum*; see *VF*, xxxviii; cf. Baier, *Untersuchungen*, 2.3.13.1; 2:312 f.

41 Ibid., 2.3.13.2; 2:315. Only the critical edition of Jordan's *Meditationes* and *Opus Postillarum* will firmly settle the question as to the relationship between the two.

42 Ibid., 2.3.13.2; 2:315.

43 Ibid., 2.1.13.2; 2:320 f.

44 Ibid. In his *Coelifodina* Johannes von Paltz referred anonymously to Ludolph and Jordan when in the section, "Divisio passionis dominicae", he wrote: "… hic posset dividere eam cum Guilhelmo Parisiensi vel aliter in valde multos articulos iuxta textus exigentiam." *Coelifodina*, ed. Christoph Burger and Friedhelm Stasch, with Berndt Hamm and Venicio Marcolino, *SuR* 2, (Berlin, 1983), 12,17–18. The editors gave no reference for the *vel aliter*.

45 *VF*, xliv.

46 "Prologus fratris Jordani ordinis Heremitarum de Quedlinburg super psalterium," as quoted by Hümpfner, *VF*, xliv. See also, Zumkeller, *MSS*, n. 649 (313).

47 Baier, *Untersuchungen*, 1.3.1.1; 1:86–97.

48 Ibid., 1.3.1.1; 1:93.

tion whether it could actually stem from Jordan's early teaching career and gives no textual evidence in support of the later date. Although Baier devotes far more space to Jordan's *Meditationes*, his brief treatment of Jordan's *Expositio* is the only scholarship on this work. Baier's focus is Ludolph, not Jordan, and he therefore only discusses the latter as he related to the former. Nevertheless, Baier has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Jordan, and his work serves as a stimulus for further research. His speculations on the relationship between Jordan and Ludolph, however, cannot be substantiated from a more detailed and thorough comparison, as will be demonstrated below.

Further contributions to the study of Jordan more recently have been my own study of Jordan and the late medieval Augustinian tradition,[49] and the work of Nadia Bray. Based on her interest in the importance of Jordan for the reception of Meister Eckhart, Bray has published a register of Jordan's sermons in his *Opus Jor*,[50] from which she has also edited sermons 81–82, together with sermons 68–79 from Jordan's *Opus Postillarum*.[51] Moreover, Bray has provided the foundation for all further study of the textual traditions of Jordan's *Opus Postillarum* by having thoroughly analyzed the manuscript traditions.

Nevertheless, the scholarship on Jordan to date has yet to produce a comprehensive study of his life and influence. Aside from his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, *Vita Sancti Augustini*, and selected sermons mentioned above, Jordan's works remain unedited. It is in attempt to begin to fill this lacuna and to contribute to restoring Jordan and the Augustinians to their rightful place in the religious, theological, spiritual, political, intellectual, and cultural history of the later Middle Ages, encompassing both the Renaissance and the Reformation, that the present work sets as its intended goal. Jordan, however, was simply one late medieval Augustinian Hermit who remains to a large extent unknown. It is not just Jordan, but the late medieval Augustinian authors in general who deserve once again to be heard.

---

49 Saak, *High Way to Heaven* (as in Preface above, n. 6).

50 Nadia Bray, ed., *Giordano di Quedlinburg Opus Ior. Registrum Sermonum, Tabula Contentorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabeti*, Centro di cultura medievale della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa 13 (Pisa, 2004).

51 Nadia Bray, ed., *Jordan von Quedlinburg Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de Evangeliis dominicalibus, De nativitate Domini, Opus Ior Sermones selecti de filiatione divina*, Corpus philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi 7 (Hamburg, 2008).

2 The Augustinians in the Later Middle Ages

In 1490, in Venice, the Augustinian friar Thomas of Spilembergo edited and had published the Commentary on the first book of Lombard's *Sentences* of his co-religious of the previous century, Alfonsus Vargas of Toledo (GW M49431). As such, this was nothing out of the ordinary; the *Sentences* Commentaries of the fourteenth-century Augustinian Thomas of Strassburg also appeared in 1490 (GW M46615), and that of Gregory of Rimini in 1482 (GW 11503). Yet in his preface to the work, addressed to the Order's prior general, Frater Thomas made a rather gradiose claim. He started, after his salutation, by noting that Paulus Aemelius, the third-century BCE Roman Consul, who was glorified by Polybius and whose daughter had married Scipio Africanus, had been the first to have diligently brought back to Rome books from Greece. He had done so because he recognized that to understand the *imperium romanum* and to rule it well, obscure works of the great teachings of things and disciplines were to be had. Thomas then made the argument *mutatis mutandis* that if the General wished to govern well, he must "believe the Augustinian religion, printed for you here in this book by Alfonsus of Spain."[52] Alfonsus' commentary had lain obscured in darkness unjustly, but even more unjust would be to keep it from being brought to light in print, for that would be harmful to the Augustinians' republic, for whose honor Thomas had searched the libraries to revive this most important work, an endeavor he mused was so difficult that in hunting for Alfonsus' commentary, one might be well advised to consult the delphic oracle.[53] Unfortunately, Spilembergo's efforts did not bear much fruit. Not

52 "Paulus Emilius Romanorum consul rerum omnium divinarum ac humanarum gloria ornatissimus, e Graetia Romam diligenti studio (ut aiunt) libros primus aduxit. In equissimum probatissimus vir iudicabit Romanum imperium quod ad exercenda ingenia sumopere et laborabat in tanta rerum doctrina ac disciplinarum genere obscurum esse habendum, quod tu recto consilio summoque iudicio, nedum huic tibi credite Augusti⟨ni⟩ane religioni in codice Alphonsi Ispalensis imprimendo." Thomas of Spilembergo, Preface to Alfonsi Vargas Toletani *In Primum Sententiarum*, ed. Thomas de Spilimbergo, OESA (Venice, 1490, GW M49431; reprint: Cassiciacum II, 1952), fol. 1^{v}. The Preface was addressed to Anselm of Montefalco, the Prior General of the OESA at the time (d. 1495); see Gutierrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1357–1517*, 37–38. For Alfonsus, see E.L. Saak, "Alfonsus Vargas," in *OGHRA* 2:508–509.

53 "In eo si quidem omne summopera diligentia elaboratum atque perfectum est, commune et liberum omnium iudicium facile subiturum, profecto in refellendis adversariorum argumentationibus, quorum errata lepidissime abrasa sunt sibi non vulgare dinoscint fuisse ingenium. Acerbum fuit in tenebris hoc opus clarissimum iacuisse, sed longe acerbius ob commoditatem publicam iudicarent si diutius latitare tollerastes. Opus prestantis-

all that long afterwards, the Augustinian friar Martin Luther gives evidence that in his theological studies, he had read Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, Ockham, Pierre d'Ailly and Biel: not Alfonsus, nor even Augustine himself, the Order's mythic founder and father, who had been converted to orthodox Christianity by opening a book and reading.[54] Alfonsus' book, even in the printed form, was

---

simum arte impressoria conficiendum in lucem hac de reprodire voluisti, iudicio meo iri castigatum, quod ob meam in te observantiam (presertim cum nihil prestantius, ni clarius existemem quam de re publica maioribusque bene mereri) laboris onus licet humeris meis impar subii alacrius ut tibi Reverendissime pater rem facerem non ingratam et glorie ornamentoque nostre rei publice non immerito consulerem librariorum culpa huius dignissimi operis exemplaria in plerisque locis depravata, pro quibus et interpretandis delphicus apollo eque iure fuisse te consulendum, longis vigiliis quo ad potui castigata reddere conatus, impressoribus patere acuratissime volui. Errores si qui habebuntur negligentie potius artificis quam nostre ascribendi sunt. Opus igitur antea ignotum ac intactum ad quorundam inertiam tollendam, aliorum vero ingenia excitanda nostresque religionis laudem patefactum est, quo studiosissimi iuvenes, senesque immortales gratias tibi sunt allaturi, quoniam rem prope divinam tuo beneficio excipient. Rogatum itaque te velim Reverendissime pater, quoniam ipse alacri animo ob singularem in te obedientiam subini humeris nec me labor ipse gravavit ut he mee vigilie laboresque grati futuri sint. Ingenium vero meum meque ispum cum quadam animi servitute ad omne tuum votum paratissimum ac dedicatum esse semper existimes, Vale." (GW M49431, as n. 52, 1^{v})

54 *WAT* 4, nr. 5009; 611,7 f. Here Luther, in 1540, commented that as a young monk he had read Scotus, but not Augustine. Luther's *Disputatio Contra Scholasticam Theologiam* of September 1517 gives evidence that he had read not only Scotus, but also Ockham, D'Ailly, and Biel, the latter of whose *Canonis Misse Expositio* Luther studied for his ordination; *WA* 1.224–228. It also witnesses his reading of and devotion to Augustine. Luther had begun studying Augustine intensively already in 1509 when he began his theological studies. There is though no evidence that Luther studied Augustine before his beginning to study theology, that is, during the period from his entrance into the OESA in 1505 to 1509, which most likely is the reference of his statement some thirty years later. There is, though, also no evidence that he had during this period, i.e., 1505 to 1509, read Scotus; as mentioned already, Luther studied Biel for his ordination in 1507. Luther had most likely read Scotus and Ockham during his arts course at Erfurt. There is little reason to question Luther's comment that he had not read Augustine prior to 1509 (though in 1540 he simply said that he had not read Augustine "as a young monk"). However, Luther's reading of Augustine at that time, and thereafter, was not a comprehensive attempt to interpret the Church Father, and Luther moves increasingly away from the authority of Augustine after 1520; see E.L. Saak, "Luther, Martin" in *OGHRA* 3: 1341–1346; for Luther's early marginals, see the most recent edition, Martin Luther, *Erfurter Annotationen, 1509–1510/11*, ed. Jun Matsura, Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luthers. Texte und Untersuchungen 9 (Cologne, 2009).

overlooked, and still is, being the focus of only a single monograph published in 1930,[55] even though a reprint of the 1490 edition was done in 1952. And this despite Spilembergo's exhortation: *tolle, lege*.

Alfonsus and his fate are not unique. Even though the Order proclaimed as early as 1324 and repeated throughout the later Middle Ages that "for the furtherence, status, and honor of our Order, our religion has no treasure more dear than its books,"[56] the Order's books, both those it possessed and those it produced, have lain in as great or even greater darkness than had Alfonsus'. Thomas of Spilembergo's preface reminds us that to understand the Order's religion, the religion that as early as 1326 had been referred to as the religion of Augustine,[57] the Order's obscure books have to be brought to light, for in them we find not only the Order's impact on the development of late medieval theology and its still unacknowledged contribution to the shaping of late medieval religious culture, but also, as Damasus Trapp argued in 1956, the Augustinians' perhaps formative influence on the emergence of the historical-critical atittude that came to characterize Italian humanism, and that was still present in 1490 in Thomas' preface to Alfonsus, whom Trapp, based on Alfonsus' *In primum Sententiarum*, referred to as the Order's first literary historian.[58] One is tempted to ask how history might have been different had Luther read Alfonsus' commentary, or any other of the books of his Order for that matter. Of such magnitude is the theme of the Augustinians and their books in the later Middle Ages and derivatively that of late medieval Augustinianism, a term that has been contentiously debated for over a century.[59] The impact of Augustine and the Augustinians in the later Middle Ages was central to the origins of Renaissance and Reformation, and thus to the transformation from medieval culture to early modern. It is still an impact largely uncharted.[60] Any attempt to describe adequately late

55 Josef Kürzinger, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und seine theologische Einleitungslehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Scholastik im 14. Jahrhundert*, *BGPhMA* 22 (Münster 1930).

56 "Item, cum pro Ordinis promotione, statu et honore nostra religio libris aptis ad studium thesaurum non habeat cariorem, definimus et ordinamus quod omnes libri pertinentes ad communem librariam cuiuslibet conventus sine distractione qualibet conserventur …" Gen. Chapter 1324, as cited by D. Gutierrez, "De Antiquis Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini Bibliothecis," *AAug*. 23 (1954): 164–372; 167.

57 Saak, *Creating Augustine*, 197.

58 Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Booklore," *Aug*(L) 6 (1956): 146–274; Rudolph Arbesmann, *Der Augustiner-Eremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung* (Würzburg, 1965).

59 See Saak, "Augustinianism" in *OGHRA* 2: 596–599.

60 See Saak, *Augustine's Ghost. The Impact of Augustine From Lombard to Luther*, forthcoming.

medieval Augustinianism is doomed to fail, for to do so would be to describe not only the reception and impact of Augustine, but also that of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine (OESA) in its entirety, the theological, religious, intellectual, and institutional dimensions. Unlike the Franciscans and Dominicans, however, its two biggest competitors, the OESA has been overlooked by modern scholars. It has been my scholarly endeavor, in my previous work as well as in this edition and translation, to illustrate, directly or indirectly, the unmined wealth the Augustinians have to offer our understanding of the religious, intellectual, political, theological, philosophical, and textual culture of the later Middle Ages, defending the thesis Thomas of Spilembergo set out in his preface: *obscurum esse habendum*.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that Thomas of Spilembergo had difficulties finding copies of Alfonsus' *Sentences* commentary. Today there are only thirteen extant manuscripts.[61] Alfonsus, however, is not alone in his obscurity. The majority of Augustinian authors are virtually unknown. Henry of Friemar was a fourteenth-century Augustinian theologian in Erfurt. Among his numerous works that have never for all practical purposes been studied is his *Tractatus de decem mandatis*, one of the most widely spread commentaries on the Ten Commandments in the later Middle Ages, extant in at least 259 manuscripts, and printed 14 times before 1500 (GW 12199–12212). Perhaps one reason this is so is that Henry's treatise often circulated under the name of Nicholas of Lyra, as part of his *Postilla*. Hermann of Schildesche is another case in point. Herman wrote numerous works, but his most popular was his *Speculum manuale sacerdotum*, a handbook for the simple parish priest, focusing on the sacraments of the eucharist, baptism—in which, among other things, he also explained how one should baptize siamese twins—and confession, extant in over 160 manuscripts, with 10 incunabula editions. This treatise circulated with ten separate dedications to various bishops and archbishops throughout Germany.[62] And Jordan of Quedlinburg himself is another largely unknown late medieval Augustinian friar, as indicated above, even though Jordan composed more sermons, extant in more manuscripts, than any other Augustinian before Martin Luther.[63] It is, moreover, clear that Jordan's works, though rarely cited, were of major influence. While virtually every student of late medieval culture knows the name

61 See Zumkeller, *MSS*, nr. 89 (53).

62 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 351–356.

63 Saak, "*Quilibet Christianus*: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Kienzle et al., Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Texts et Études du Moyen Âge 5, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 317–338.

Ludolph of Saxony and his work, the *Vita Christi*, few realize that for his treatment of Christ's Passion, the part of the work best known, Ludolph, *pace* Baier, took over almost *in toto*, transforming yet often word for word, the *Meditationes de Passione Christi* of Jordan; he did the same with Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* for his treatment of the *Pater Noster*.[64] A comprehensive analytical survey of the literary production of the Order would prove the Order's importance and would, one would hope, go a long way to rescue the Order's obscure authors, bringing their works to light and into the mainstream of scholarship on the later Middle Ages. It would also prove that the works of such Augustinians as Henry, Hermann, and Jordan, though all fourteenth century authors, were as much fifteenth and early sixteenth century works as they were fourteenth: they provided much basic material that was being read, copied, and printed. Their works fell into obscurity precisely because they were so common: they were used, but rarely cited, and thus not lifted up as note worthy books that have caught, captured, and monopolized the attention of modern scholars. The books the Augustinians produced, from pastoral literature to the highest theology, were the common property of the later Middle Ages. When Gregory of Rimini's *Sentences* Commentary was printed once again in 1522, it was so with a wood cut framing the title page. On the very top one finds Plato, a perhaps surprising placement since Gregory was very much an Aristotelian *modernus*, or as some would say, a 'nominalist'. Plato then oversees two columnes of scholars. On his left, our right as looking at it, one finds in descending order: Aristotle, and then his commentators: Theophrastus, Alexander of Aphrodisias; Themistius, and Averroes. On Plato's right, our left, in descending order we find: Gregory of Rimini, followed by Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, and Duns Scotus.[65] Gregory has been made into a universal doctor of the church, placed above Albert, Thomas, Giles, and Scotus, and given equal status with Aristotle as a student of Plato. Yet modern scholars have reduced Gregory to having been a notable theologian and philosopher of the mid-fourteenth century, and perhaps one who may, or may not, have influenced in some fashion Martin Luther. The pantheon of scholars as represented on the title page of the 1522 edition of Gregory's *Sentences* Commentary is not one that meshes with contemporary attempts to categorize, label, and pigeon-hole late medieval philosophical and theological schools. Yet this was at least one historical, late medieval image and representation of Gre-

64 See below.

65 *Gregorii Ariminensis Lectura in primam et secundum Sententiarum* (Venice, 1522; reprint New York, 1955).

gory. When surveying the Augustinian literary production in the later Middle Ages, we must recognize that fourteenth century authors produced works that became the standard fare of the fifteenth century, and as such have as much to tell about the fifteenth century as do that century's outstanding creations. The texts transcended their authors, which we so often forget with our author fetishes and hangups with originality, which have formed a cloak of obscurity and even darkness over many 'common' and even some uncommon, late medieval books. Consequently, our knowledge and understanding of Augustine's direct and indirect impact on the later Middle Ages has been reduced to confessional polemics surrounding the origins of Reformation theology. If, however, the catechism was an important development of the Reformation, we need to be able to interpret the early modern Catechism in light of the late medieval catechetical endeavour, to which Jordan and his fellow Augustinians contributed significantly. Thus too the present text and translation, for one of the pillars of the late medieval catechetical endeavour, as much as that of the Reformation, Catholic and Protestant, was the proper understanding of the *Our Father*.

3 The Late Medieval Catechetical Endeavour

In the early fifteenth century, Hermannus de Petra (d.1428), vicar of the Carthusian cloister of St. Anne in the Desert in Bruges (Sint-Anna-ter-Woestijne te Brugge), composed fifty sermons on the *Pater Noster*. While only four manuscripts of this work have survived, it received three early printed editions (Arend de Keyser: Oudenaarde, 1480 [GW 12292; USTC 438673]; Jan van Westfalen: Leuven, 1484 [GW 12293; USTC 435679]; Guillaume Balsarin: Lyon, c.1488 [GW 12294; USTC 761027]). Hermann's sermons were later reworked and translated into early Dutch.[66] Though never studied by scholars of late medieval religion, Hermann's sermons form one of the most extensive treatments of the

66 For this work, see J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, III (Brussel, 1903), 459, nr. 2386; C.G.N. de Vooys, *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de prozalitteratuur en het volksgeloof der middeleeuwen* (Groningen-Den Haag, 1926[2]), 50; J. Jacobs, *Her Herman Stekin van Scutdorpe* (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1927), 51–72; Stanislas d'Ydewalle, *De kartuize Sint-Anna-Woestijne, 1350–1792* (Brussel, s.a.), 77–78, 82–83, 92–95; *Vijftien jaar aanwinsten. Sedert de eerstesteenlegging tot de plechtige inwijding van de Bibliotheek* (Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1969), 134–135.

Pater Noster in the later Middle Ages.[67] Why, one wonders, would someone compose fifty sermons all on the Lord's Prayer? Hermann actually addressed this question in his Prologue. He decided to use the format of the sermon to teach the unlearned, as preaching was something to which they were accustomed, and such was needed to unravel the holy words of the prayer which are filled with mystery and miracle, an endeavor he found to be "not absurd or useless".[68] In short, Hermann offered his sermons as a catechetical work in addition to being a work of devotion. His text, as Jordan's, witnesses the difficulty in trying to identify a literary catechetical genre in the later Middle Ages, the age before the catechism. Sermons, devotional texts, treatises, and pastoral literature of various purposes and functions all should be seen as catechetical in the broad sense of the term, which at times should even be expanded to include grammatical texts, as the late fifteenth, early sixteenth century works of Willem Zender of Weert evidence. Zender, it should be noted, based his treatment of the Passion of Christ in his *Pro moribus querant pueri* on Jordan's *Meditationes de passione Christi*.[69] The late medieval catechetical endeavor, in short, formed a central aspect of, if not having been synonymous with, what I have called the late medieval process of religionization,[70] a process to which Jordan and his fellow late medieval Augustinian Hermits were significant contributors.

---

67 The mid-fifteenth century Augustinian Augustinus de Leonissa also composed fifty sermons on the *Pater Noster*, together with twenty-eight on the *Ave Maria*; see Augustinus Leonissa, *Sermones pulcherimi super dominicam orationem Pater noster et angelicam salutationem Ave Maria unicuique ad populum volenti declamationes facere accommodati* (Cologne, 1505; VD 16 A 4321, see http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+A+4321, with link to digitized copies).

68 "Ad honorem et gloriam super benedicte trinitatis scilicet patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ad eruditionem simplicium secundum pravitatem mei ingenium, quedam ex dictis sanctorum, patrum et doctorum colligere ac inscribere pro aliquali declaratione seu explanatione sacre dominice orationis, ut videlicet pater noster, et hoc per modum sermonum que declamatorie solent vulgaribus predicari … sed quia illa sacra verba compendiosa sunt et gravida misteriis, mirabilemque dulcedinem includentia, ideo ut tanto iocundius redoleant, dulcius sapiant et plenius animam reficiant, ac ut homines maiori devotione ad legendum vel meditandum ipsa trahuntur et afficiantur non videtur absurdum aut inutile." Hermannus de Petra, *Sermones quinquaginta super orationem dominicam*, Prol. (Leuven: Johannes de Westfalia, 1484; GW 12293), fol. bi^{ra}.

69 C.H. Kneepkens, "Grammar and Religious Education Intertwined: Willem Zenders of Weert's *Opus minus*," in Kees Schepers and Frans Hendrickx, eds., with Rob Faesen and Ineke Cornet, *De Letter Levend Maken. Opstellen aangeboden aan Guido de Baere bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, Miscellanea Neerlandica 39 (Leuven, 2010), 401–434.

70 Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 722–735.

Religionization was the formation and spread of micro-religions, identifiable religious groups based upon a particular form of devotion and worship. As such, Religionization joins Christianization and Confessionalization as one of the three major processes in the history of Christianity. As John van Engen wrote, by the year 1000 Europe had been 'Christianized', whereby everyone in Europe was Christian, with the exception of the Jews.[71] 'Being Christian' in this sense meant one was baptized and attended Christian worship. Christianization as such did not entail doctrine or even belief. It was only beginning in the eleventh century that we find wide-spread attempts to teach people what 'being Christian' actually meant, as seen in the rise of pastoral literature and the pastoral endeavor to reach the people. Religionization in this light can be seen as a 'secondary Christianization process': once Europe was Christian, Europe still needed to be taught what 'being Christian' entailed. Thus if Christianization can be defined as the process by which Europe became Christian as defined by baptism and worship, and if Confessionalization can be defined as the process by which a particular religious confession (e.g. the Confession of Augsburg, 1530) served as an instrument of territorial state building beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century, Religionization was the process by which the understanding of 'being religious', which originally applied to the state of being *a* religious, that is, entering a monastic order whereby one entered 'the state of religion' (*in statu religionis*), became applied to all Christians so that all Christians were truly to be 'religious'.[72] This was a process that began in the eleventh century and continued on even 'underneath' the onset of Confessionalization, as a new wave of Christianization had begun with the Age of Discovery and the New World.

The endeavor to make all Christians religious was one component of Religionization. The second then was the formation, cohesion, and spread of micro-religions themselves, which included monastic groups as well as increasingly what has been called 'semi-religious' groups, such as the Modern Devotion. Thus there was a specific and a general form of Religionization, with the general form of Religionization identified as the general catechetical endeavor.[73]

---

71 John Van Engen, "Christianity in the Middle Ages," *AHR* 91 (1986): 19–552.

72 Cf E.L. Saak, "Quilibet Christianus: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA," in Kienzle et al., eds., *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons* (as in note 63 above), 317–318.

73 In my *High Way to Heaven*, I asserted: "Religionization, however, is not to be equated itself with the pastoral theology or with the general catechetical program of the high and later Middle Ages. Religionization was the formation, cohesion and expansion of micro-

The general catechetical endeavor, according to Egino Weidenhiller, 'took off' rather dramatically beginning around the year 1370, marked by the significant increase in the production of catechetical texts.[74] This corresponds to Daniel Hobbins' interpretation of the 'Age of Gerson' and the emergence of Jean Gerson as a public intellectual producing for a public space.[75] This upsurge in the production of catechetical literature reflects the manuscript production as well of the works of Jordan, with the vast majority of his manuscripts having been copied only after the beginning of the upsurge and the increasing use of paper rather than parchment, making manuscript production far cheaper than previous.[76] This production contributed to what has been called the *Frömmigkeitstheologie* of the later Middle Ages, a pastoral theology of a general nature rather than one reflecting an order-specific, or a university-specific perspective, producing a 'normative centering' of late medieval religious and theological instruction.[77] Yet such texts witness not only the intent to shape the religious understanding of their audiences, but also the religious understanding of their producers, based on a group-specific religious identity, thus reflecting the dual characteristics of the religionization process, the specific and general form of religionization,[78] whereby, as I have put it elsewhere, 'religion spawned religion',[79] or as Bernd Moeller put it, the religion of the monas-

---

religions, formal religious groups with their own distinct religious culture." Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 726. While I would still assert that there is at least a *distinctio formalis* to be made between the general religionization process and the late medieval pastoral and catechetical endeavor, I think that practically speaking making such a distinction has little scholarly use in so far as our understanding is not greatly deepened or increased by carefully determining that a specific text was representative of the general catechetical and/or pastoral program, though technically speaking did not witness to the late medieval religionization process in the general sense, or vice versa. The more important distinction to make is between the general religionization process and the more specific religionization process based on micro-religions. Thus I had also asserted in *High Way to Heaven* that "Religionization, therefore, was inherently catechetical." Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 732.

74 Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen*, 206–212.

75 Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print. Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, 2009).

76 Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 7–9; cf. Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen*, 206.

77 Berndt Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis*, *BhTh* 65 (Tübingen, 1982); *idem*, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999): 307–354.

78 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 348–355.

79 Ibid., 582.

teries in the later Middle Ages spilled out beyond the monastic walls.[80] In this endeavor, authors focused on inculcating what every Christian was intended to know. The *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Passion of Christ formed the core of the late medieval catechetical endeavor. These texts, and the instruction contained therein, were summarized in the Catechetical Tables (*Katechismustafeln*) of the later Middle Ages, which focused on the virtues and vices, sin, and the sacraments,[81] composed, as the author of the fifteenth-century *Die Tafel der christlichen Weisheit* clarified, for the instruction of the young and the old, noble, knight, maiden, and widow.[82] They also served as the basis for academic exposition on various levels. Henry of Friemar, the fourteenth-century Augustinian hermit at Erfurt who was Jordan's older contemporary, composed one of the most widely spread expositions on the Ten Commandments in the later Middle Ages, and Jordan, in addition to his composition of the text edited and translated here below, also wrote a *Treatise on the Articles of Faith*, a *Treatise on the Virtues and Vices*,[83] and one of the most influential *Meditations on the Passion of Christ* of the later Middle Ages.[84] These were all catechetical, in that they had as their primary

80 Bernd Moeller, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500," *ARG* 56 (1965): 3–31; cf. Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 567–568.

81 See Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen*, 25–101; cf. Ruth Slenczka, *Lehrhafte Bildtafeln in Spätmittelalterlichen Kirchen* (Cologne, 1998). Slenczka proposed 'Lehrhafte Bildtafeln' as a genre, in which "Katechetische und homiletische Stoffe stehen neben Historien, Bilder aus dem Kontext der Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung neben solchen zur Passionstheologie und Marienfrömmigkeit." (176). I will be discussing the catechetical function of images, textual as well as graphic, at greater length in *Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages II*; the *Pater noster cum expositione summaria* discussed below fits into this genre of texts, and bears clear evidence of Jordan's influence. It should also be noted in this context that Jordan's *Expositio Arboris*, concluding his *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, was intended as a description of an image as well.

82 "(K)um heiliger geist und hilff mir zu samen leßen, die aller hübsten stucklein zu werntlichen weßen. Jungkfrauen, wittiben und eleuten will ich unterweysen, daz sie sich strafen, pessern und erkennen, dy iungen und di greysten, herrn, knecht, frauen auch meyden hort und lest sie stetiglich, von groser lieb gib ich euch diese tafel cristlicher weyßheit, auß der ir muget nemen, ansehen und kumen yn volkumenhait." Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen*, 89–90.

83 See E.L. Saak, *Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages III: The* Treatise on the Articles of Faith *and* Treatise on the Virtues and Vices *of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation*, forthcoming.

84 E.L. Saak, *Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages II: The* Meditations on the Passion of Christ of Christ *of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA (d. 1380)—Introduction, Text, and Translation*, forthcoming.

intent to instruct their audience on the proper understanding of the foundational doctrines of the Christian religion and how to put such teaching into practice. As such, the late medieval catechetical endeavor can be seen as the first mass media attempt to shape public opinion, at least perhaps since the propaganda campaign of Caesar Augustus and the Augustan Revolution. And in terms of production, the late medieval catechetical endeavor pre-dated the onset of the "Age of Gerson".

Hobbins argued that it was really only with Gerson that we find schoolmen consciously trying to reach out to a broader audience beyond the confines of academe, based on an 'affective theology', thus yielding a new self-conscious understanding of authorship which increasingly employed rhetoric to meet its goals. It is in this context that we find overlap between 'scholasticism' and the emerging 'humanism' in light of the author as a public intellectual intending to shape public opinion.[85] Hobbins' work is erudite and persuasive, forcing a re-thinking of the intellectual contours of the later Middle Ages. Yet much of what Hobbins sees as unique to Gerson, actually predated Gerson by over half a century, even if Gerson remains the most outstanding example of the new trends. Hobbins argued that Gerson represented a shift in theological perspective from the speculative nature of theology of the universities, to an affective, "emotional" theology intended to reach a broad audience.[86]

In the thirteenth-century, academic theologians discussed the question of whether theology was primarily a discipline based on 'theoretical knowledge' (*scientia speculativa*), or on 'practical knowledge' (*scientia practica*), with the Dominicans, in general, advocating the former position and the Franciscans the latter. The Augustinians, however, beginning already with Giles of Rome, defined theology as 'affective knowledge' (*scientia affectiva*), a knowledge of the heart, more than of the head. This Augustinian affective theology, which Jordan defined as 'spiritual knowledge' (*scientia spiritualis*), became the hallmark of the Augustinians' theological endeavor, both with respect to the Augustinian university masters, and especially for the Order's theologians teaching in the Order's *studia* not associated with a university. At this level of theological education, the focus was on teaching and preaching, going beyond the walls of the monastery to reach the general public. The self-conscious pastoral endeavor

85 Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 116–126.

86 Hobbins translated *affectus* as 'emotions' (Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 117–119), which is not quite getting at the late medieval understanding. What we think of as 'emotions' was in the later Middle Ages regarded as the 'passions' (*passiones*). *Affectus* was more 'anthropological' than our 'emotions'.

was the emphasis of the Augustinians' mendicant theology, based on 'affective theology', long before Gerson.[87] It was part and parcel of the Augustinians' religionization program, whereby, as Jordan put it, every Christian was to be a saint, and every Christian was to be a religious.[88] This endeavor, based on Jordan's redefinition of preaching and teaching as part of the contemplative life, was seen as comprising the 'most perfect life' (*vita perfectissima*), which was, according to Jordan, based on contemplation, and then through contemplation, bringing the fruits thereof to the people at large in teaching, preaching, and pastoral care.[89] As such, the Augustinians' mendicant theology and religionization program provides the requisite historical context for Gerson, who was not the initiator, but the heir of a self-conscious pastoral attempt to shape public opinion, morals, and behavior in the context of a general catechetical endeavor based on affective theology.

This Augustinian, mendicant theology Hobbins ignored, though he is by no means the first scholar who has done so, with respect both to the Augustinian mendicant theology as well as to the fourteenth-century catechetical endeavor as such. While scholars have taken an interest in the pastoral literature of the later Middle Ages as well as in 'popular religion', there is still no general treatment of catechetical literature or instruction for this period. Yet as Robert Bast has argued in his study of the Fourth Commandment, catechetical literature contributed not only to the ideology of patriarchy in late medieval and Reformation Europe, but also to what Norbert Elias described as the 'civilizing process', and the phenomenon of 'social disciplining'.[90] Bast, moreover, pointed to the remarkable uniformity in Protestant and Catholic treatments of the Fourth Commandment, showing that the text was used to reinforce the common patriarchal ideology more than to demarcate confessional divides. While the catechists cannot be seen as the architects of absolutism, they did contribute significantly to the general understanding whereby "rulers were to be virtuous men who would fight back against the forces of disorder by imposing discipline and promoting true religion. Subjects, in turn, were to bow heads and hearts to the authority of God's regents."[91] In this light, early modern Confessionalization and the emergence of absolutism had their origins in the later Middle Ages: "The appropriation of the language of paternalism and the coer-

87 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 356–368.

88 See Saak, "Quilibet Christianus. Saints and Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg," (as in note 63 above).

89 Ibid., 283–286.

90 Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, xii.

91 Ibid., 236.

cive control of life and doctrine were the ripe fruits of a harvest that catechists had been cultivating for centuries."[92] Bast based his study on an analysis of the Fourth Commandment in late medieval and Reformation Europe, a natural place to start for studying the origins of patriarchy. That, though, is the point: Bast has provided a place to start. There is no analogous work on the other nine commandments, nor on any other component of the late medieval catechetical endeavor. While there has been a great deal of work done on the virtues and vices of the high and later Middle Ages, which has contributed greatly to our understanding of late medieval moral theology,[93] and while medieval sermon literature even has its own scholarly society,[94] interpreting such theology and moral teaching within the broader development of the late medieval catechetical endeavor in the context of late medieval religionization is an unploughed field. Much work is to be done if we are to enjoy the fruits of the harvest of coming to a deeper and more historical understanding of the power structures governing the relationship between religion and politics in late medieval and early modern Europe, and the emergence of modernity itself. Thus the present work seeks to begin such cultivation by focusing on the Lord's Prayer, itself a text that scholars of late medieval religion have not given the attention it deserves, perhaps on the assumption that it was simply too common, even as the common reveals more of a society and culture than do its outstanding exceptions.

4 The Lord's Prayer in Late Medieval Religion

It may be hard to believe that the *Pater Noster* has received scant attention in studies of late medieval religion.[95] Yet in Hervé Martin's, *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350–1500*, there are only three references to the *Our*

92 Ibid., 237.

93 See most recently Krijn Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue. Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction of the Thirteenth Century*, SHCT 161 (Leiden, 2012).

94 The Medieval Sermons Study Society.

95 This is especially so when one takes note of the abundant number of commentaries on the prayer listed by Bloomfield; Morton Bloomfield, et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D. Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster*. The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 88. (Cambridge, MA, 1979); see also Richard Newhauser and István Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al. Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 50 (Turnhout, 2008).

Father, two of which appear without further comment by Martin in fifteenth-century quotations he cites from the Franciscan Louis Peresi and the secular priest Robert Ciboule.[96] Martin by no means stands alone: neither Grundmann[97] nor Rapp,[98] Vauchez[99] nor Manselli,[100] Gurevich[101] nor Bynum,[102] nor even Angenendt[103] include discussions of the place and function of the *Pater Noster* in their treatments of late medieval religion, and a recent reader on medieval religious practice, for example, has no mention of the *Our Father*, even though it does treat prayer.[104] This is not a comment on the erudition of these scholars; rather it illustrates that the theme with which we are concerned here has not been treated by the very authors who have contributed most to our understanding of religion in the later Middle Ages.[105]

---

96 Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350–1500* (Paris, 1988); ch. ix: "Un Catechisme avant le Lettre," 296–297; see also 361.

97 Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1935; reprint Hildesheim/New York, 1977).

98 Francis Rapp, *L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en occident à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1971).

99 André Vauchez, *Religion et Societé dans l'Occident Médiéval* (Torino, 1980).

100 Raoul Manselli, *La Religion Populaire au Moyen Age. Problemes de method et d'histoire* (Paris, 1975).

101 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 14 (Cambridge, 1988).

102 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982); *idem, Christian Materiality. An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011).

103 Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997); *idem*, *Grundformen der Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter* (München, 2003). Angenendt mentions the *Vaterunser* only in passing in both works; there is no distinct treatment of the *Pater Noster* as such in either of these major works.

104 Miri Rubin, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton, 2009).

105 This lacuna contrasts with the extensive literature dealing with the 'Our Father' in Biblical scholarship. See, for example, Jean Carmignac, *Recherches sur le 'Notre Pere'* (Paris, 1969), which includes a comprehensive bibliography. Yet for the medieval period, the lack of attention is notable, including in the most recent study of prayer in the Middle Ages, *A History of Prayer. The First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Roy Hammerling, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 13 (Leiden, 2008). Here Jordan is scarcely mentioned in the chapter by Paul Robinson, "Sermons on the Lord's Prayer and the Rogation Days in the Later Middle Ages," ibid., 441–462, who seems to think, based on a single manuscript, that Jordan wrote only one sermon on the *Pater Noster*, though an extensive one; ibid., 452, and no mention is made of Hermannus de Petra (as discussed above), nor of Augustinus de Leonissa (see note 67 above).

It was only shortly after the turn of the twentieth century that historians and scholars of literature began to concern themselves with the *Pater Noster*. In 1903, Otto Dibelius published the first study that dealt with the *Our Father* historically.[106] Dibelius traced the exegetical tradition of the *Pater Noster* from Clement of Alexandria, Origin, and Gregory of Nyssa through the Middle Ages and the German vernacular tradition to Luther, who, Dibelius concluded, did not know the German works dealing with the prayer. What similarities there may appear to be can be ascribed to the common patristic tradition. With his work Dibelius set the program for historical study of the *Pater Noster* that is still operative. Two lines of research have resulted: one focused on patristic exegesis, while the other investigates the German literary tradition.

Over eighty years after Dibelius, the first comprehensive study of the *Pater Noster* in the patristic tradition appeared with the work of Klaus Schnurr.[107] Schnurr traces the exegesis of the 'Our Father' from Tertullian's praise of the prayer as "a short summary of the entire Gospel,"[108] through Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Cassian, before concluding by presenting a typology of expositions of the *Pater Noster*. Schnurr identified three basic types of expositions: catechetical, exegetical, and argumentative. The first category is closely related to baptism by setting forth the basic instructions necessary for the new Christian to understand the fundamental doctrines of the faith.[109] The exegetical category of the *Pater Noster* expositions is primarily based on the *Pater Noster* in larger scriptural commentaries, such as Augustine's commentary on the Sermon on the Mount and Jerome's commentary on Matthew.[110] The final category Schnurr defines by the boundaries of orthodoxy. This type can be distinguished from the first two by the characterization of the catechetical and exegetical types as "exposition for," whereas the argumentative is "exposition against."[111]

---

106 Otto Dibelius, *Das Vaterunser. Umrisse zu einer Geschichte des Gebets in der alten und mittleren Kirche* (Giessen, 1903). Although Dibelius's work was the first to treat the *Pater Noster* specifically, nineteenth-century works on the catechism touch on the issue; see, for example, Peter Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfalle des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempen, 1880).

107 Klaus Schnurr, *Hören und Handeln. Lateinische Auslegungen des Vaterunsers in der Alten Kirche bis zum 5. Jahrhundert*. Freiburger Theologische Studien 132 (Freiburg, 1985). For a more popular treatment of the period, see now Roy Hammerling, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church. The Pearl of Great Price* (New York, 2010).

108 Schnurr, *Hören und Handeln*, 7.

109 Ibid., 277–278.

110 Ibid., 278–280.

111 Ibid., 281.

The historiographical treatment of the *Pater Noster* in the Middle Ages was likewise slow in coming. After the work of Dibelius, it was another fifty years before the next thorough treatment of the theme in R. Rudolf's study of the *Pater Noster* in the works of Thomas Peuntner.[112] F. Schwab investigated David of Augsburg's exposition of the *Our Father*, persuasively arguing for its authenticity by a literary analysis of his German works,[113] and the scholarship reached a plateau with Bernd Adam's monograph on German expositions of the *Pater Noster* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[114]

Adam traces the medieval tradition of the *Pater Noster* from the Carolingian stipulations for teaching the Lord's prayer to the people[115] to late medieval German expositions, for which—as did Schnurr—Adam offers a typology. Adam distinguished not three, but four categories of expositions: the catechetical; the speculative, which is comprised of both scholastic and mystical treatments of the prayer; a group of practical treatises derived from the speculative category, but directed toward lay piety; and lastly a 'prayer group', works in which the *Pater Noster* is treated together with other prayers.[116] The focus of Adam's book is the textual tradition of the catechetical type and his work provides the foundation upon which further studies must be based. However, he has restricted himself to the vernacular tradition, thus limiting the value of his typology. The *Exercitium super Pater Noster*, for example, edited by Barbara H. Jaye,[117] bears similarities to the lost English *Pater Noster* plays; both the text and the iconography of the work present "a story with protagonists, action, and spectacle. These features, unique among *Pater noster* explications, suggest the possibility

112 Rainer Rudolf, *Thomas Peuntners Betrachtungen über das Vater unser und das Ave Maria, nach österreichischen Handschriften hrsg. und untersucht* (Wien, 1953).

113 Fancis Mary Schwab, *David of Augsburg's 'Pater Noster' and the Authenticity of His German Works,* MTU 32 (Munich, 1971).

114 Bernd Adam, *Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen. Texte und Untersuchungen zu deutschsprachigen Auslegungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, MTU 55 (München, 1976). Siegfried Heinimann has produced a catalogue of the *Pater Noster* in romance languages, which does not include expositions, or even catechetical works, though it does serve as a welcome resource for further research; see Siegfried Heinimann, ed., *Oratio Dominica Romanice. Das Vaterunser in den romanischen Sprachen von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 219 (Tübingen, 1988).

115 Adam, *Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen*, 7 ff.

116 Ibid., 210–235.

117 Barbara H. Jaye, *The Pilgrimage of Prayer: The Texts and Iconography of the 'Exercitium Super Pater Noster'*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:16 (Salzburg, 1990).

of a stage."[118] Unique though it may be, the *Exercitium* does not fit the typologies given to date. We need to develop, therefore, a typology that will include the Latin as well as the vernacular traditions of treatments of the *Pater Noster*. Such will then allow for more precision in identifying literary genres, enabling scholars to go beyond typological categorization to investigate the historical flesh and blood of the texts. In turning to this endeavour we find ourselves in uncharted waters.

Any typology for analyzing the various treatments of the *Pater Noster* in the later Middle Ages would need to be constructed very self-consciously as an artificial, heuristical device, for many of the texts resist categorization. We can, though, point to five general categories that would need to be employed one way or another in a comprehensive treatment of the *Pater Noster* in the Middle Ages: the liturgical; the religious; the catechetical; the pastoral; and the academic. The liturgical consists of the *Pater Noster* in liturgical texts, from such texts as the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* and Gregory the Great's *Liber sacramentarium* to expositions on the Mass, such as Gabriel Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio*. The religious category is comprised of texts that sought to shape the popular understanding of the Lord's Prayer, with the *Exercitium* and Rolevinck's *Speculum rusticorum* as prime examples, as well as works intended for private devotion, including prayer books. The catechetical category includes the catechetical tables and texts discussed by Weidenhiller and such texts as the *Ciprianus spricht* analyzed by Adam. The pastoral category consists of treatments of the Lord's Prayer from Thomas Aquinas's *Secunda Secundae* of his *Summa* to Augustinus Leonissa's *Sermones pulcherimi super dominicam orationem* and the *Fasciculus Morum*. The academic category then is comprised of expositions of the *Pater Noster* by theologians in universities and mendicant *studia*, such as Augustinus of Ancona's *In Mattheum*, who treated the prayer as part of his lectures on the Bible. These five categories thus encompass texts not only focused on the *Pater Noster* as such, but also those in which the *Pater Noster* is included as part of a larger whole, so to speak. By using such categories we could then begin to gain a comprehensive understanding of the place, role, function, and impact of the *Pater Noster* in the Middle Ages, going beyond analyses of specific genres of texts.

Doing so, however, would serve to deconstruct the very categories themselves, for so many of the texts dealing with the *Pater Noster* are most legitimately and accurately placed in more than one category. Gabriel Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio*, for example, would naturally fit both within the liturgical cat-

118 Ibid., 13.

egory and the academic, and, as we will see, Jordan's *Expositio* could rightly fit within the academic, or the pastoral, or the religious, or the catechetical, and indeed, should be seen as all of the above. The medieval texts themselves resist scholarly constructed typologies and genres, a recognition that must form the point of departure for our endeavour to understand and find meaning in medieval texts. Jordan's *Expositio* is a case in point.

5 Jordan's *Exposition*

Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* originated from his lectures on the Gospel of Matthew in the Augustinian *studium* at Erfurt in 1327.[119] At the request of his students, Jordan published his ten lectures on Matthew 6:9–13 separately, and his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* is all that remains of Jordan's lecture course.[120] He later revised and incorporated his treatment of the *Our Father* into his first major sermon collection, the *Opus Postillarum*, as sermons 289–298. Fifty-four manuscripts of Jordan's *Expositio* have survived as an independent treatise, and at least another thirty-seven as part of his *Opus Postillarum*, printed in Strassburg in 1483. The *Opus Postillarum* was translated into middle high and middle low German, and an anonymous German exposition of the 'Our Father' is essentially a compilation from Jordan's treatise.[121] Thus

119 The explicit in the Berlin manuscript reads: "Explicit Expositio Orationis Dominice, edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per fratrem Iordanum de Quetelingburg, ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno Domini M CCC xxvii, cum Mattheum ordinarie lectitaret, qui etiam ad maiorem utilitatem hanc lecturam secundum numerum decalogi lectionibus contentam compendiose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsates instantibus auditorum." Berlin, SBB Ms. theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 89va. This colophon most likely originated with Jordan himself. The colophon of the Munich manuscript, also fourteenth century, simply states: "Explicit iste expositio illius sanctissimae dominicae orationis, sub anno domini M CCC xlviii, tertio nonas mensis Januarii." Munich, BSB, clm 8151, fol. 106^{r}. The colophon of Basel, UB A.IV.4 fol. 93^{r}, dated 1455, reads: "Explicit expositio orationis dominice edita per eximium doctorem Jordanum, sacre theologie professorem et cetera, scripta et completa per me Balthazar Abbatem in Czenua, Anno et cetera quinquagesimo quarto, die vero vicesimo quarto mensis Septembris, etc." The colophon of the Berlin manuscript thus seems most likely to be an author colophon; on author colophons, see Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 172–178.

120 It is, though, possible that Jordan's *Meditationes de passione Christi* likewise had their origin in Jordan's lectures at Erfurt; see Saak, *Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages II*.

121 Würzburg, UB, Cod. M. ch. q. 23, fol. 53^{v}–55^{v}; see Zumkeller, "Die Lehrer des geistlichen Lebens," 247, n. 36.

Jordan's exposition of the 'Our Father' is extant as a series of academic lectures, as an independent treatise, and as a series of sermons.

Jordan, as was traditional, divided the Lord's Prayer into seven petitions, together with an introduction and the *Amen*. The Introduction consisted of two lectures:

Lecture 1: Our Father (*Pater Noster*)
Lecture 2: Who Art In Heaven (*qui es in celis*)

These were then followed by the seven petitions:

Lecture 3: Hallowed be Thy Name (*sanctificetur nomen tuum*)
Lecture 4: Thy Kingdom Come (*adveniat regnum tuum*)
Lecture 5: Thy Will be Done, on earth as it is in heaven (*fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra*)
Lecture 6: Give us this day our daily bread (*panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie*)
Lecture 7: And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors (*et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimissimus debitoribus nostris*)
Lecture 8: And lead us not into temptation (*et ne nos inducas in temptationem*)
Lecture 9: but deliver us from evil (*sed libera nos a malo*)

The exposition then concluded with:

Lecture 10: Amen (*Amen*).

With each of these petitions, Jordan associated one of the virtues, which the petition was particularly intended to infuse, and one of the vices, which it was designed to exclude. In addition, he also attributed to each petition one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, one of the beatitudes, and one or more of the fruits of the Holy Spirit,[122] as shown in the following

122 Jordan was not unique in doing so as such, though his treatise may too have exerted an influence on later treatments. Göbl notes that most treatments of the *Pater Noster*, both in Latin and in the vernacular, were in general based on the treatments of Cyprian, Tertullian, and Augustine (Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese*, 155). There is no evidence that Jordan drew on Tertullian, but certainly he did so extensively from Cyprian and Augustine. For Jordan's reception of Augustine, see Saak, "Jordan of Quedlinburg," *OGHRA* 3: 1234–1236. As an example of the general commonality in late medieval treatments of the *Pater Noster*,

TABLE 1 *Seven petitions, virtues, vices, gifts, beatitudes, fruits*

Petition	**Virtue**	**Vice**	**Gift**	**Beatitude**	**Fruits**
Hallowed be they name (L3)	faith (*fides*)	pride (*superbia*)	wisdom (*sapientia*)	peace (*beati pacifici*)	faith and peace (*fides et pax*)
Thy Kingdom come (L4)	hope (*spes*)	avarice (*avaritia*)	understanding (*intellectus*)	pure of heart (*munditia cordis*)	joy and patience (*gaudium et longanimitas*)
Thy Will be done (L5)	charity/ love (*caritas*)	envy (*invidia*)	counsel (*consilium*)	mercy (*misericordia*)	love, goodness, and good will (*caritas, bonitas, et benignitas*)
Give us this day our daily bread (L6)	fortitude (*fortitudo*)	gluttony (*gula*)	fortitude (*fortitudo*)	thirsting for righteousness (*esuries iustitie*)	modesty (*modestia*)

Göbl summarizes the exposition found in the fifteenth-century *Der beschlossen gart des Rosenkrantz Marie*, and notes that a fourteenth-century exposition, "… oder vielmehr eine Betrachtung über das Vater-unser" first sets out "warum Gott unser Vater ist und wir seine Kinder sind. Dann folgen die sieben Bitten. In einer jeden derselben wird um eine Gabe des heiligen Geistes, um die Meidung einer der sieben Hauptsünden und um die Übung der entsprechenden Tugend, sowie um eine der acht Seligkeiten gefleht." Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese*, 159. Here Göbl explicitly was drawing on an exposition collected and edited by Max Rieger and Wilhelm Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete aus Handschriften* (Basel, 1876, repr. Darmstadt 1964; available online at the Internet Archiv, www.archive.org/details/altdeutschepredoounkngoog). Not all treatments, though, were by any means common, as Weidenhiller has shown. Jordan's *Expositio* stands at the beginning of an upsurge in catechetical works, and may have very well had a significant influence, though one that is virtually impossible to demarcate precisely given the nature of the 'genre'; see below.

Petition	Virtue	Vice	Gift	Beatitude	Fruits
Forgive us our debts (L7)	righteousness/justice (*iustitia*)	anger (*ira*)	knowledge (*scientia*)	weeping (*luctus*)	mildness (*mansuetudo*)
Lead us not into temptation (L8)	prudence (*prudentia*)	opulence (*luxuria*)	piety (*pietas*)	meekness (*mititas*)	continence and chastity (*continentia et castitas*)
Deliver us from evil (L9)	temporance (*temporantia*)	laziness (*accidia*)	fear (*timor*)	poor of spirit (*paupertas spiritus*)	patience (*patientia*)

As mentioned above, Jordan appended to his exposition an additional treatment after the *Amen*. To make the prayer and his explication of it "appear more clearly" even to the unlearned, Jordan constructed an *Expositio Arboris*, an image of the Lord's Prayer explicated by means of the image of a tree. This was a tree of the virtues and vices, which was intended to offer an effective, powerful image for meditation for the learned and lay alike. Jordan's *Exposition* may have originated as academic lectures, but when he published them he did so in attempt to reach a lay audience as well, whereby his treatise assumed its catechetical function.[123] Catechesis, exegesis, devotion, and theological doctrine went hand in hand.

Medieval scholars often distinguished their works based on the intended audience and particular purpose. Modern scholars have turned late medieval function into exclusive literary genres. Jordan's *Expositio* stands as a vivid reminder of the fluidity between such genres in the later Middle Ages, as well as of the importance of the *Pater Noster* to late medieval theological, religious, and devotional history, defying categorization into any single category of the

123 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 561–576. *Ciprianus spricht* also used the image of a tree to refer to "planting" of the *Pater Noster* in our hearts by God's grace; Adam, *Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen*, 66,246–253.

suggested typology above. Jordan's *Expositio*, as so many, if not most of the late medieval treatments of the *Pater Noster*, transcends contemporary attempts at classification.

Jordan's *Exposition* was not an isolated treatise. It had significant impact on other treatments of the *Pater Noster* in the later Middle Ages. There is evidence that Jordan's work may have served as a source for fifteenth-century vernacular treatises, such as the *Ciprianus spricht: der vns daz leben*, and in the fourteenth century, as mentioned above, the well-known Carthusian, Ludolph of Saxony took over large sections of Jordan's treatise word for word for his treatment of the *Pater Noster* in his widely read *Vita Christi*. Just as, in many ways, Jordan had borrowed heavily from his confrere Henry of Friemar (see the Commentary, or Notes on the Work, below), so had Ludolph borrowed significant portions of text from Jordan, which he did as well from Jordan's *Meditationes de passione Christi* for his treatment of Christ's passion.[124] Such borrowings are detailed in the commentary (Notes to the Work; see below) which offer substantial proof of the impact of Jordan's work, but examples of the textual relationships are offered here:

TABLE 2 *Text comparison: Jordan's* Expositio *and Ludolph's* Vita Christi

Jordan's *Expositio*	**Ludolph's *Vita Christi***
Est autem notandum, quod ipse deus dicitur *pater noster* tripliciter, secundum triplex esse quod ab eo accepimus, scilicet nature, gratie, et glorie. Esse nature dedit nobis in creatione; esse gratie in recreatione sive redemptione; et esse glorie dabit in regni communicatione. Jordan, L1	Ipse quidem Dominus dicitur *Pater Noster* tripliciter, secundum triplex esse quod ab eo accipimus, scilicet: naturae, gratiae et gloriae. Esse naturae dedit nobis in creatione; esse gratiae, in recreatione, seu redemptione; et esse gloriae, in regni comitatione. *VC* I.37 (169a)
O quanta fiducia et fiducialis audacia quod futura factorem servus dominum hoc deum patrem suum audeat nuncupare et regnum eius postulare. Quis umquam ausus est in veteri legi talia presumere? nemo	O quanta fiducia et fiducialis audacia, quod factura Factorem, creatura Creatorem, homo Deum Patrem audeat nuncupare! Quis unquam ausus est in veteri Lege talia praesumere? Nemo, utique. Quia,

124 Regarding Ludolph's borrowing from Jordan for his treatment of the Passion, see Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 823–828.

Jordan's *Expositio*	**Ludolph's *Vita Christi***
utique, quia ut dicit *Glossa* super Mattheum: deus antiquius ut servis dicebatur dominus, nunc deus pater, cui non timore sed amore servimus, et beatus Augustinus in *Sermone Domini in Monte* dicit sic: nusquam invenitur preceptum populo Israel ut diceret *pater noster* sed est eis insinuatus tamquam dominus servis. Nos igitur per sanguinem Iesu Christi adoptionis filii effecti confidenter clamamus: *Abba, pater*, secundum Apostolum ad Galatas 4.	secundum *Glossam*, Deus antiquius, ut servis, dicebatur Dominus; nunc dicitur Pater, cui non timore, sed amore, servimus. Unde et Augustinus: Nunquam invenitur praeceptum populo Israel ut diceret *Pater noster*, sed est eis insinuatus tanquam Dominus servis. Nos vero per sanguinem Domini Jesu filii adoptionis effecti, confidenter clamamus: *Abba Pater*.
Jordan, L1	*VC* 1.37(169a)
Tertio dubitatur de numero, quare scilicet he omnes petitiones sub septenario numero comprehendantur? Ad quod dicendum quod quia septenarius numerus est numerus universitatis et quoniam universitas omnium recte desiderabilium, in hiis petitionibus comprehenditur secundum Augustinum *Ad Probam* et ponitur infra in fine post Amen et patebit ex questione sequenti. Ideo rationabiliter omnes petitiones sub septenario numero sunt complexi.	Omnes vero petitiones sub septinario numero comprehenditur, quia septenarius est numerus universitatis; at universitas omnium recte desiderabilium in his comprehenditur petitionibus: ideo rationibiliter omnes petitiones sub septenario est complexus.
Jordan, L3	*VC* 1.37 (168a)
Hic dubitari potest multipliciter. Primo de brevitate, quare hec oratio tam pauca verba complectatur. Ad quod dicendum quod eius possunt assignari septem rationes: prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda, ut melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de eius ignoratia excusetur; quarta, ut	Quare autem haec oratio tam pauca verba complectitur, possunt assignari septem rationes: prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda, ut melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de ejus ignorantia excusetur; quarta, ut frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut tedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut

TABLE 2 *Text comparison: Jordan's* Expositio *and Ludolph's* Vita Christi (cont.)

Jordan's *Expositio*	**Ludolph's *Vita Christi***
frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut tedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut fiducia impetrandi cita tribuatur; septima, ut in devotione mentis non in multiplicatione verborum virtus orationis esse ostendatur. Jordan, L3	fiducia cito impetrandi tribuatur; septima, ut in devotione mentis, non in multiplicatione verborum, virtus orationis esse ostendatur. *VC* I.37 (168b)
… per hoc quod dicitur *supersubstantialem*, id est superadditum substantie … Ad hoc etiam referri potest, quod Lucas dicit cottidianum non annum vel decem annis provisum et in horreis reservatum … per hoc quod dicitur *da*, quasi dicat quia nec minimum granum ex nobis habere possumus nisi tu des, psalmi: *Qui dat escam omni carni* … ne scilicet homo nimis sollicitetur in providendo sibi in futurum, per hoc quod dicit *hodie*, non per trigenta vel quadragenta annos immo nec per cras, quia nescimus si in crastinum perveniemus. Jordan, L6	Dicit autem *quotidianum*, non annum, vel ad plures annos provisum, et in horreis servatum, quem Matthaeus dicit *supersubstantialem*, id est superadditum substantiae et substentationem … Et subjungit: *Da nobis hodie*, quia nec minimum habere possumus, nisi det ille *qui dat escam omni carni* … vel *hodie*, id est illum qui nobis hodie tantummodo sufficit, ut de crastino non cogitemus, quia nescimus si in crastinum proveniamus. *VC* I.37 (170b)

Many more such parallels or borrowings could be shown, and are detailed in the Commentary. Yet these examples clearly demonstrate how Ludolph was 'cutting and pasting' from Jordan's text. It should also be noted that Jordan revised his exposition when he prepared it for inclusion as sermons 289–298 of his *Opus Postillarum*,[125] and Ludolph's borrowings give evidence that Ludolph

125 The manuscript tradition of Jordan's *Expositio*, both as an independent treatise and as incorporated into his *Opus Postillarum* is extremely complex, and the relationship between his *Expositio* as an independent treatise stemming from his lectures in Erfurt and as extant as *sermones* 289–298 of his *Opus Postillarum* can only be based on further exten-

either used the text of Jordan's *Opus Postillarum*, or an intermediate version. This can be seen most clearly in Jordan's and Ludolph's treatment of the "daily bread" of the Lord's Prayer. In his original version, Jordan had a three-fold exposition of the spiritual interpretation of "daily bread"; in his *Opus Postillarum*, Jordan expanded that to a four-fold exposition. Ludolph put forth two three-fold expositions, which is highly suggestive that he knew Jordan's four-fold exposition:

TABLE 3 *Text comparison: Jordan and Ludolph on* Daily Bread

Jordan's 'original' version	**Jordan's 'expanded' version**	**Ludolph's version**
A. Primus modus: panis materialis; B. Alius modus: panis spiritualis sive mysticus: i. panis doctrinalis sive intelligentie; ii. panis sacramentalis sive eucharistie; iii. panis celestis sive glorie	A. Primus modus: panis materialis; B. Secundus modus: panis spiritualis sive mysticus: i. panis doctrinalis sive intelligentie; ii. panis luctualis sive mestitie; iii. panis sacramentalis sive eucharistie; iv. panis celestis sive glorie	A. Primus triplex panis: i. panis naturalis ii. panis spiritualis iii. panis sacramentalis B. Alius triplex panis: i. panis doctrinalis seu intelligentie; ii. panis luctualis seu moestitie; iii. panis celestis seu glorie

sive manuscript analysis. The Strassburg 1483 edition of the *Opus Postillarum* includes significant revisions (which are given in the *apparatus criticus abbreviatus*), yet the text of the *Opus Postillarum* present in Mainz, StB Ms. I 53, dated to 1447, follows the reading with respect to the *Expositio* as the independent treatise stemming from his lectures; the revisions and additions of the Strassburg edition, in other words, are not found in this manuscript of the work. Only extensive manuscript analysis will be able to determine Jordan's revision process and at what stage the revisions were made, or, whether the revisions and additions of the Strassburg edition represent contamination of the manuscript tradition and were not original to Jordan himself. The evidence, though, is clear that Ludolph was 'cutting and pasting' from Jordan for the *Vita Christi*, and on this basis, until further evidence comes to light, I am here working on the assumption that there was a 'genuine' expanded version of Jordan's text as he reworked it for the *Opus Postillarum* that then provided the source for Ludolph's treatment, even as this is still conjecture at this time.

In both his original version and his revised version Jordan's basic distinction was between two modes of interpretation: A. the material, or literal meaning; and B. the spiritual or mystical meaning. Jordan then further clarified three understandings of the spiritual meaning of "daily bread" in his original version, namely, 1. doctrinal bread, or the bread of understanding; 2. sacramental bread, or the bread of the eucharist; and 3. heavenly bread, or the bread of glory. In his revised version for his *Opus Postillarum*, Jordan added a fourth spiritual, or mystical understanding, namely 'tearful bread', or the bread of sorrow, which he placed between the sacramental bread and the heavenly bread. Ludolph did not adopt Jordan's basic distinction between the material, or literal meaning and the spiritual, or mystical meanings. He simply gave two three-fold interpretations. Ludolph included the 'tearful bread' of Jordan's revised version as the second meaning of his second three-fold interpretation in collapsing Jordan's two modes of understanding into two different interpretations, both of which, together with the sacramental bread, form Ludolph's first three-fold interpretation. Baier, as mentioned above, dated Ludolph's *Vita Christi* between 1348 and 1368. Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* dates from 1327, so that we cannot posit that Ludolph served as a source for Jordan. Jordan's *Expositio* was already in circulation by the earliest possible date for the composition of the *Vita Christi*. We know that Ludolph borrowed heavily from Jordan. Thus it seems more likely that he did so as well for his treatment of the "daily bread", rather than Jordan's revised version having been influenced by Ludolph. Since Ludolph was copying from Jordan, based on his exposition of the "daily bread", we can determine that Ludolph was copying from Jordan's revised version. In this light, it seems much more likely that Ludolph was copying from Jordan as well for his treatment of Christ's Passion, rather than the other way around, or that both Jordan and Ludolph used a common source, as Baier speculated. This is even more likely since Baier's arguments that Jordan's *Meditationes* were original to the *Opus Postillarum* do not hold up against the evidence; the more likely origin of the *Meditationes* was Jordan's lectures on Matthew in Erfurt in 1327, the same origin as his *Expositio Orationis Dominice*.[126] Thus Baier's posited *Articulus Quelle* was, for Ludolph in any case, Jordan's text itself. Jordan's works were a major

126 I am currently preparing an edition and translation of Jordan's *Meditationes*, in the introduction of which I will be presenting arguments for the early origins of Jordan's *Meditationes* at length; See E.L. Saak, *Catechesis in the Later Middle Ages II. The* Meditations on the Passion of Christ *of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA—Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*.

source for Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, which itself then is evidence for the influence of Jordan's *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, together with the indications of its influence on vernacular treatments in the later Middle Ages mentioned above.

In addition to the influence of Jordan's *Expositio* on Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, Gabriel Biel likewise drew from Jordan for his *Canonis Misse Expositio*.[127] Biel, however, did not usually cut and paste from Jordan as directly as did Ludolph. There are though thirty-six parallel passages, some of which give clear evidence that Biel was drawing directly from Jordan. Such is the following:

TABLE 4 *Text comparison: Jordan and Biel*

Jordan, L2	**Biel, *CME* L LVX (75–76)**
Potest etiam illud secundo exponi de celis spiritualibus, id est sanctis, de quibus celis dicitur in Psalmo: *Celi enarrant gloriam dei*. Dicuntur autem veri sancti celi propter tria: propter spiritualis ornatus pulchritudinem et sponsitatem; propter celestis conversationis celsitudinem et puritatem; propter divine inhabitationis sanctitudinem et dignitatem. Primum patet, quia sicut celum corporale est ornatum sole, luna et stellis, sic illud. Unde Bernardus super Cantica sermone vicesimo octavo: in celo, inquit, spirituali puta anima sancta sol est intellectus, luna fides, stelle virtutes; et sicut stelle in nocte lucent in die latent, sic vera virtus,	Secundo modo exponitur hec particular *in celis* moraliter, ut per celos non intelligantur corpora spherarum celestium, sed anime sancte, iuste et virtuose et angeli sancti, unde Hugo ubi supra: 'In celo maxime habitare dicitur quamvis sit ubique', quia per celos intelliguntur angeli et homines iusti in quibus maxime deus habitat, sicut scriptum est: *Anima iusti sedes est sapientie*, Sapie. ix, secundum aliam translationem … In iustis nanque speciali modo habitat deus quo non habitat in ceteris peccatoribus et irrationabilibus creaturis … Dicuntur autem viri sancti celum metaphorice ob quasdam conditiones et proprietates celorum materialium que in eis per similitudinem

127 See also Saak, "De tekstualiteit van laatmiddeleeuwse pastorale literatuur. Een *case study* van Jordanus van Quedlinburg, o.e.s.a., en Gabriel Biel," forthcoming in the Festschrift for Pater Martijn Schrama, OSA, ed. Brian Heffernan and Jos van Neer (in press).

TABLE 4 *Text comparison: Jordan and Biel* (cont.)

Jordan, L2	**Biel, *CME* L LVX (75–76)**
que in prosperis non apparet, eminet in adversis. Secundum patet per Augustinum in libro *De sermone domini in monte* ubi dicit quod tantum spiritualiter interesse videtur inter iustos et peccatores, quantum corporaliter inter celum et terram. Et hoc accidit ex diversitate affectuum, nam affectus iusti est circa celestia, iuxta illud Philippiensium tertio: *Nostra conversatio in celis est*; peccatorum autem affectus circa terrena versatur, de quibus dicitur in Psalmo: *oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*.	spiritualiter inveniuntur primo propter ornatus pulchritudinem. Sunt enim celi corpora lucida, sole ac stellarum multitudine ornata, ab omnis immundicie contagione remota. Ita viri sancti et iusti sunt intellectu luminosi et clari, a vitiorum maculis et feditate purgati, et charitate ac diversarum virtutum floribus tanquam sole ardentissimo et stellis fulgidissimis adornati; unde beatus Bernardus super Cantica: Anima sancta celum est, in quo sol est intellectus, luna fides, astra virtutes, et sicut stelle in nocte lucent, in die latent. Sic vera virtus est que in prosperis non apparet, in adversitatibus emicat. Et de apostolis specialiter dicitur quod celi sunt, unde Honorius super illud Psal.: *Celi enarrant gloriam*: Celi ait sunt sancti apostoli … Secundo, viri sancti celi dicuntur propter celestis conversationis celsitudinem, unde apostolus Ad Phil. iii: *Nostra conversatio in celis est*. Peccatorum autem conversatio circa terrena versatur. De quo Psal.: *Oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*.

The underlined passages here are direct parallels for which no intermediary source has been found, even as other textual parallels between Jordan's text and Biel's do have intermediary sources, such as Thomas Aquinas's *Secunda Secundae*, or simply a common patristic source. Biel used Jordan's text as the basis for constructing his own, even as his borrowing is evident, in the above, as well as in the following:

TABLE 5 *Text comparison: Jordan and Biel 2*

Jordan, L4	**Biel, *CME* L LXVII (100)**
Secunda dubitatio est quare non dicit, 'veniamus ad regnum tuum', quod tamen videretur convenientius, quia potius nos venimus ad regnum quam regnum ad nos. Ad hoc dicendum quod nos ad deum venire non possumus nisi prius deus veniat ad nos.	Veniat igitur ad nos ut nos hinc absumat, quo a presenti et futura miseria liberemur. Sed quomodo petimus nobis hoc advenire, cum potius nos vadamus ad ipsum? Responsio: Non possumus venire ad hoc regnum nisi ipsum prius ad nos veniat.

Moreover, Biel drew heavily from the *Canonis Misse Expositio* of Eggelinus Becker of Braunschweig,[128] who had been Dompredigerin Mainz in the mid fifteenth century before Biel. In his Prologue Biel explicitly mentions that he will be expanding Eggelinus's treatment, even as the editors of Biel's text make no mention thereof, nor do they give any reference in the apparatus to Eggelinus. Many parallels between Jordan's *Expositio* and Biel's have Eggelinus as an intermediary, whereby even given the similarities, Biel is clearly drawing directly from Eggelinus, rather than from Jordan, though such passages suggest that Eggelinus perhaps was using Jordan as well. Such is the following:

128 Eggelinus's *Expositio* is extant in Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth.93, which I have used for comparisons.

TABLE 6 *Text comparion: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel*

Jordan, L6	**Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 232^{rb}**	**Biel, *CME* L LXX (160)**
Secundo, resecatur rapacitas, ut homo non rapiat nec alias sibi cibum illicitum usurpet vel illicite acquirat, per hoc quod dicitur *nostrum* non alienum. Unde Chrysostomus: Qui de iustitia panem acquisitum manducat, suum panem manducat; qui autem cum peccato, alienum.	Secundo dicimus nostrum ut nemo aliena bona sibi ut sua usurparet, de quo idem Crisostomus: Qui de iustitia panem acquistum manducat, suum panem manducat; qui autem cum peccato, alienum.	Secundo dicimus *nostrum*, ut nemo aliena bona sibi ut sua usurpet, de quo Chrysostomus: Qui de iustitia panem adquisitum manducat suum panem manducat, qui autem cum peccato, alienum.

Here Jordan, Eggelinus, and Biel all cite Chrysostom exactly, though Biel "cuts and pastes" from Eggelinus. Yet Eggelinus's *secundo* is not preceded by a *primo*, nor followed by a *tertio*, suggesting that Eggelinus was borrowing from Jordan, as does his citation of Chrysostomus, citing the exact same passage for the exact same point. Such examples could easily be multiplied, and the textual parallels are detailed in the Notes on the Work. It is clear that Biel used both Eggelinus's text, and Jordan's, and that Eggelinus most likely had Jordan on his desk as well. At times it seems that Biel constructed his text from both Eggelinus and Jordan, combining the two to form his own, new text:

TABLE 7 *Text comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel 2*

Jordan, L1	**Eggenius, *CME*, fol. 211va**	**Biel, *CME* L LXIIII (59)**
Dividitur autem hec oratio in exordium, tractatum et conclusionem. In exordio benevolentia captatur, cum dicitur:	Dividitur autem hec oratio in duas partes principales. In quarum prima eius qui petitur captetur benevolentiam; secunda	Dividitur autem hec oratio dominica in tres partes principales, scilicet in exordium, tractatum, et conclusionem,

TABLE 7 *Text comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel 2* (cont.)

Jordan, L1	**Eggenius, *CME*, fol. 211va**	**Biel, *CME* L LXIIII (59)**
Pater noster, qui es in celis; in tractatu petitiones ordinantur, cum subditur: *sanctificetur* etc.; in conclusione confirmatio petitionum optatur, cum in fine subnectitur: *Amen*.	petitionum quas fundimus est expressiva.	secundum Petrumde alliaco. In prima parte eius qui petit captatur benevolentia. In secunda petitionum quas fundimus subiungitur continentia, ibi: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. In tertia petitionum optatur confirmatio et edificatio, cum concluditur: *Amen*.

Here Biel cites Pierre d'Ailly for his division of the prayer. D'Ailly, though, was drawing on Jordan:

TABLE 8 *Text comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel, and Pierre d'Ailly*

Jordan, L1	**Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 211va**	**Biel, *CME* L LXIIII (59)**	**Pierre d'Ailly, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* 1, pref. (Douai, 1634), pp. 161–162.**
Dividitur autem hec oratio in exordium, tractatum et conclusionem. In exordio benevolentia captatur, cum dicitur: *Pater noster, qui es in*	Dividitur autem hec oratio in duas partes principales. In quarum prima eius qui petitur captetur benevolentiam; secunda petitionum quas fundimus est	Dividitur autem hec oratio dominica in tres partes principales, scilicet in exordium, tractatum, et conclusionem, secundum Petrum de alliaco. In	Haec oratio Dominica dividitur in exordium, tractatum et conclusionem. In exordio benevolentia captatur, *Pater noster*, etc. In

TABLE 8 *Text comparison: Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel, and Pierre d'Ailly* (cont.)

Jordan, L1	**Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 211va**	**Biel, *CME* L LXIIII (59)**	**Pierre d'Ailly, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* 1, pref. (Douai, 1634), pp. 161–162.**
celis; in tractatu petitiones ordinantur, cum subditur: *sanctificetur* etc.; in conclusione confirmatio petitionum optatur, cum in fine subnectitur: *Amen*.	expressiva.	prima parte eius qui petit captatur benevolentia. In secunda petitionum quas fundimus subiungitur continentia, ibi: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. In tertia petitionum optatur confirmatio et edificatio, cum concluditur: *Amen*.	tractatu petitiones ordinantur, *sanctificetur nomen tuum*. In conclusione petitionum confirmatio optatur, *Amen*.

In the parallel passages between Biel and Jordan, Biel cites Pierre d'Ailly as his source three times. The editors of Biel's *CME* give d'Ailly's *Quaestiones in libros sententiarum*, lib. 1, q. 14, art. 2 as the source for Biel's reference here,[129] but the citation is not there, nor for the other references to d'Ailly given for Biel's treatment of the *Pater Noster*.[130] D'Ailly in 1 *Sent*. 14 is treating the will of God, and while there are certainly themes and positions he discusses that appear in Biel's *Expositio*, d'Ailly is not there expositing the *Pater Noster*. The only mention thereof is in article 2.[131] Courtenay and Oberman though, Biel's editors, also

129 Biel, *CME* 64 I, p. 59.

130 E.g. Biel, *CME* 67, p. 118.

131 "Secundo dico quod in qualibet oratione a quovis viatore ymmo ab universali ecclesia facta pro salute alicuius viatoris sive pro quocumque contingenti futuro vel possibili debet

list as a source the *Libellus sacramentalis*, c. 19B–D. This work was published once in 1487 in Louvain (GW M32020) and was explicitly attributed to d'Ailly.[132] Biel's reference to d'Ailly, however, is likewise not there at all.[133] The *Libellus* is a catechetical work with a 'student', Petrus, who has just been ordained as priest and has questions for seemingly his master, Guillelmus, focusing primarily on the sacraments of baptism, the eucharist, confession, and marriage.

---

saltem habitualiter et implicite circumstantia sive conditio divini beneplaciti subintelligi. Patet per similitudinem de oratione dominica in qua dicitur *fiat voluntas tua*. Similiter per exemplum de Christo qui quando oravit dicens *pater transeat a me calix iste* statim subiunxit illam conditionem *non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu*; quare etc." D'Ailly, 1 *Sent.* q. 14, art. 2 (Brussels, c. 1481/84, GW M32002), fol. 206^{rb}. For d'Ailly's *Sentences* commentary I have used the Brussels 1481 edition, available online at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00082285/images/, copy at Munich BSB. D'Ailly's *Sentences* commentary is currently being edited by Monica Brinzei, of which the first volume has recently appeared; see Moncia Brinzei, ed., *Petri de Alliaco Questiones super Primum, Tertium et Quartum Librum Sententiarum*, vol. 1: *Principia et Questio circa Prologum*, *CCCM* 258 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2013).

132 "Incipit libellus sacramentalis domini Petri de Alyaco episcopi et cardinalis Cameracensis." Guillelmus Parisiensis (?), *Libellus sacramentalis* (Leuven: Egidium vander Heerstraten, 1487; GW M32020), Prol., fol. ai^{r}.

133 The entire section dealing with the *Pater Noster* is as follows: "G. Oratio Dominica. P. Ediscere ergo mihique in ea petimus. G. Septem petitiones in ea continentur quas tibi breviter declarabo. Primo fiducialiter ad ipsum accedentes primitus eius caritatem et maiestatem confitemur ideo dicimus: *Pater noster*. Ecce caritas eius ergo nos ut ipse ad nos tanquam ad filios condescendat ipsum etiam super omnia excellentem dicimus et confitemur cum dicimur: *qui es in celis*. 'Qui es' per essentiam et nunquam deficis; 'in celis' super omnia potestatem et excellentiam habens. Deinde petimus ut fruamur eo cum gloria. Ideo petimus primo nomen eius sanctificari in nobis ut sic desiderium nostrum per dilectionem feratur. Ideo dicimus: *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, non quod in se sanctum non fit sed semper sanctum est, sed quod in nobis sanctificetur, ut per illud sancti fimus. Secundo petimus ut ex hoc eius gloria perfruamur. Ideo dicimus: *adveniat regnum tuum*. Deinde petimus quinque que nos ordinant ad ipsam gloriam quod est tercium in petitione ut ei semper obediamus. Ideo dicimus: *fiat voluntas tuas sicut in celo et in terra*, quasi dicat: sicut angeli tibi obediunt in celo, ita obediamus tibi semper in terris. Secundo petimus ut detur nobis subsidium perveniendi ad hunc finem ut vita nostra tam spiritualis quam corporalis conservetur. Ideo dicimus: *panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*, sive intelligatur de sacramento eucharistie per quod spiritualis vita conservetur, sive de pane naturali per quem vita corporalis conservatur. Deinde petimus tria removeri a nobis que nos impediunt ad consequendum beatitudinem et nos ordinant ad ipsam gloriam per accidens. Primum est peccatum. Ideo petimus ipsum a nobis removeri cum dicimus: *et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, et hec

In the section on confession and penance, Guillelmus discusses prayer and in that context gives a very brief exposition of the *Pater Noster*, which he did not even mention in his chapter dealing with the order of the mass. There is no three-fold division of the prayer. The author of the *Libellus* is unknown. The 'Guillelmus' could indicate the work was authored by a Guillelmus Parisiensis, though no further designation of the author, or of the master in the treatise, is known. The context seems indeed to be French.[134] Guillelmus Parisiensis, however, could refer to several figures, from William of Auvergne (d. 1249) to the 'Guillelmus Parisiensis' whose name circulated as the author of the *Postilla discipuli super evangelia dominicalia et de sanctis secundum sensum litteralem*, which has been attributed to Johann Herolt by Ian Siggins, who refers to this Guillelmus Parisiensis as a 'non-existant compiler'.[135] The Guillelmus of the text cites Lombard's *Sentence*, thus dating the work to after 1159.[136] He also refers to Guillelmus de Monte Landuno,[137] who died after 1343, which then gives a *terminus post quem* for the work. The *Libellus sacramentalis* is an interesting work, serving as a 'catechism' for a new priest, and the author explicitly refers to the two parts of baptism as 'catechism' and 'exorcism'.[138] It served a similar function to Hermann of Schildesche's, OESA, *Speculum Manuale sacerdotum*.[139] As such,

---

est quinta petitio. Secundo petimus a nobis removeri temptationem que nos disturbat ab observatione divine voluntatis. Ideo dicimus: *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, et hec est sexta petitio. Tercio petimus a nobis removeri penalitatem presentem. Ideo dicimus: *sed libera nos a malo*. Et sic sunt septem petitiones his spectat." *Libellus sacramentalis*, ch. 19D, fol. d3vii^{v}.

134 In discussing baptism, Guillelmus notes: "Nunquid fit baptismus sic dicendo: In nomine patria et filia et spiritu sancta, ut dicunt layci. G. Attende quod variatur forma baptismi quinque modis. Uno modo variando et hoc dupliciter, vel circa significationem verborum sicut dictum est in nomine genitoris, et sic non fit baptismus. Alio modo circa voces solum manente significatione eadem et modo significandi et sic in diversis linguis fit baptismus sicut in latino, greco et gallico sermone, et sic talis variatio non obest." *Libellus sacramentalis*, c. 8, fol. a3i^{r}.

135 Ian Siggins, *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching. The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt,* OP (*Discipulus*), (Bloomington, IN, 2009), 303.

136 *Libellus sacramentalis*, ch. 27A, fol. g3ii^{r}.

137 Ibid., ch. 11B, fol. b3iii^{r}.

138 "Omnia illa tibi declarare longum esset tamen teneas quod eorum quedam dicuntur catechismus et aliud exorcismus … Ad cathecismum pertinent fidei instructio de qua debent instrui cum ad baptismum veniunt … Igitur hec duo cathecismus et exorcismus baptismum debent precedere." *Libellus sacramentalis*, ch. 8A, fol. a3vi^{r-v}.

139 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 352–353.

it merits further study, though it causes one to ponder why Oberman and Courtenay referenced it together with d'Ailly's *Sentences* commentary.

Biel, though, was citing d'Ailly indeed. Basel, UB, A.IV.3, fol. 93^{v}–100^{v} is listed as Petrus de Alliaco, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*. Bloomfield lists three separate texts, based on the incipits, that are treatments of the *Pater Noster* of d'Ailly, a *Tractatus de oratione dominica* (Bloomfield, nr. 8408, 605); an *Oratio dominica anagogice exposita* (Bloomfield nr. 8648, 628); and an *Expositio dominice orationis et quare ceteras orationes precellit* (Bloomfield nr. 8909, 652). The last is extant in a single manuscript: Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 342, fol. 61–65, whereas the first two texts are extant in multiple manuscripts and were printed in Brussels in 1483, with the first text printed as well in Paris c. 1483 and in Strassburg in 1490, and both were printed in d'Ailly's *Opuscula spiritualia* (Douai, 1634). Moreover, it is clear that d'Ailly too was drawing from Jordan. In addition to the passage cited above, we find parallels between Jordan and d'Ailly that do not come from an intermediary source:

TABLE 9 *Text comparison: Jordan and d'Ailly*

Jordan, L3	**d'Ailly, 1,1,4 (p. 163)**
Primo de brevitate, quare hec oratio tam pauca verba complectatur. Ad quod dicendum, quod eius possunt assignari septem rationes: prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda, ut melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de eius ignorantia excusetur; quarta ut frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut tedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut fiducia inpetrandi cito tribuatur; septima, ut in devotione mentis, non in multiplicatione verborum, virtus orationis esse ostendatur.	Quarto, notandum est, quod haec oratio, in suo exordio, et in omni sua parte brevis est: et hoc fit, secundum sanctos, propter plures rationes. Primo, ut fiducia cito impetrandi tribuatur … Secundo, ut discamus res, de quibus orandum estt instruimur … Tertio, ut ea, pro quibus orandum est, paucis verbis facilius memoriae commendentur. Quarto, ut prudentia ingeniosorum, in paucitate verborum, de profunditate mysteriorum, et rerum multiplicitate miretur … Quinto, ut haec oratio (quae propter sui brevitatem faciliter addiscitur, et memoriter retinetur) etiam frequentius dicatur, et sine fastidio saepius repetatur. Sexto, ut de eius ignorantia nullus excusetur: quia

TABLE 9 *Text comparison: Jordan and d'Ailly* (cont.)

Jordan, L3	**d'Ailly, 1,1,4 (p. 163)**
	quod tam faciliter scitur, non nisi culpabiliter ignoratur. Septimo, ut in mentis devotione, et non in verborum multiplicatione virtus orationis ostendatur.

The parallels here testify to a direct dependence of d'Ailly on Jordan.[140] In passages where Biel is drawing from d'Ailly, d'Ailly has drawn from Jordan:

TABLE 10 *Text comparison: Jordan, d'Ailly, and Biel*

Jordan, L3	**d'Ailly, 1,II (p. 165)**	**Biel, L LXVI (p. 79)**
Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Posito exordio sequitur tractatus, in quo ordinantur petitiones, et habet septem partes secundum septem petitiones que in hac oratione continentur; partes de se patent.	*Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Post exordium sequitur tractatus, in quo septem petitiones ordinantur: et primo circa eas aliqua sun praemittenda generaliter; secundo singulae eorum sunt exponendae.	*Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Post exordium sequitur tractatus, in quo petitiones ad deum fundende continentur.

Here it is clear that Biel is using d'Ailly, though not citing him, while d'Ailly based his text on Jordan's. The same is valid of the following passage:

140 In this passage though d'Ailly could have also used Ludolph's *Vita Christi*; see commentary to Jordan's Lecture 3 below. Given the other passages that d'Ailly drew from Jordan, it makes Jordan the most likely source here as well, rather than d'Ailly using Ludolph in this case.

TABLE 11 *Text comparison: Jordan, d'Ailly, and Biel 2*

Jordan, L1	**d'Ailly, 1,1 (p. 162)**	**Biel L LXIIII (p. 59)**
Circa primum dubitaret aliquis, quia in vanum videmur captare benevolentiam eius qui sua benevolentia nos prevenit; sed deus sua benevolentia nos prevenit quoniam ipse *prior dilexit nos*, ut dicitur prima Iohannis quarto. Superflue ergo premittitur captatio benevolentie. Ad quod dicendum, quod captatio benevolentie non premittitur propter deum, ut ipse flectatur, sed propter nos, ut fiducia petendi in nobis ipsis excitetur …	… notandum est quod Dei benevolentiam captamus non ut ipsum flectamus, cum eius voluntas sit immutabilis … sed ut in nobis ipsis de eius benevolentia certam fiduciam excitemus.	Captamus autem hoc exordio benevolentiam dei ut non ipsum flectamus, cum eius voluntas sit immutabilis, nec ut eius benevolentiam preveniamus, quoniam ipse prior dilexit nos.

Biel, in short, used both d'Ailly's text and Jordan's, whereby D'Ailly drew on Jordan and then Biel drew on d'Ailly.[141] It seems most probable that Biel had Eggelinus's text, d'Ailly's, and Jordan's on his desk as he composed his own *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*.

With the use of Jordan's *Expositio* by Ludolph, d'Ailly, Eggelinus, and Biel, as well as by vernacular treatments of the prayer, the influence and impact of Jordan's work assumes a far greater importance than previously recognized.[142] Jordan's text moreover served as the source for the *Pater noster cum expositione*

141 See 'Notes on the Work' for further parallels between Jordan and d'Ailly, as well as between Jordan, Eggelinus, Biel, and Ludolph.

142 With respect to 'influence' and 'impact', see Saak, *Augustine's Ghost*, where I discuss the need to analyze not isolated texts, but "textual matrices" to discern Augustine's impact on

summaria, a broadsheet published in Basel c. 1500.[143] The author presented a schematized summary of Jordan's lectures, as the following example demonstrates:

TABLE 12 *Text comparison: Jordan and the Pater Noster cum expositio summaria*

Jordan's *Expositio*, L3	***Pater Noster cum expositione summaria***
Prima ergo petitio est *sanctificetur nomen tuum* … Dicamus ergo, *sanctificetur nomen tuum*: quod est mysterium nostre redemptionis; privilegium filialis adoptionis; preconium tue glorificationis … Hoc inquam triplex nomen sanctificetur in nobis per benevolentiam in corde; per reverentiam in ore; per efficaciam in opere, ut sit nobis iubilus in corde; mel in ore; exemplar in opere … Per hanc autem petitionem primam excluditur primum vitium, quod est superbia … Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus fides, que est prima virtus theologica … Introducitur etiam per hanc petitionem donum sapientie … Introducitur nichilominus beatitudo pacis … Introducuntur propterea per hanc petitionem duo fructus, scilicet fides et pax …	Prima peticio *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*: misterium nostre redemptionis; privilegium filialis adoptionis; sacrificium nostre reconciliationis; propter quod Iesus appellaris; pater nominaris; Christus nuncuparis; sic autem sanctificetur ut sit nobis per benevolentiam iubilus in corde; per reverentiam mel in ore; per efficaciam exemplar in opere. Hac petitione superbia excluditur; fides introducitur; donum sapientie largitur; beatitudo pacis obtinetur; duo fructus spiritus sancti: fides et pax promerentur.

the later Middle Ages. A similar approach can be used for discerning the "impact" of such works as Jordan's.

143 *Pater noster cum expositione summaria* (Basel: Lienhart Ysenhut, c. 1500), Munich BSB, Einbl. VII,18b (unique copy), BSB-Ink P-39; GW M29761. Falk Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (VE15), 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2004), 3:581. I would like to thank Falk Eisermann for bringing this work to my attention.

The same textual relationship exists for the entire work. In short, Jordan was indeed a major author, exerting a significant influence on the textuality of the religious life of the later Middle Ages as such, and on the late medieval catechetical endeavour in particular.[144] This recognition renders Jordan's work and making his text available here of significant value and importance far beyond the late medieval Augustinian tradition.

6 Editing Jordan's *Expositio*: Text and Translation

Given what I have already said above, it should be clear why an edition and translation of Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* is valuable to scholars and students, as well as to a more general audience. The question then we face is how to edit the text. How does one make unread manuscripts on library shelves live again? In the Preface above I gave a brief 'solution' to this question, but here I want to go into the details more in depth, for texts form the basis of our historical, and theological, interpretations, and yet so often we take texts for granted, equating what we read on the printed page with what the author originally wrote, or even worse, with what the author meant in writing what he wrote. Texts, especially for the medieval period, are not givens. They are themselves problems and constructs, and thus before embarking on the reading of the particular late medieval text edited here below, I should offer some insight into the problems involved in editing this particular text, and the principles and perspectives that form not only the basis for the construction of the text below, but also that of the five other volumes of Jordan's planned *Opera Selecta*. For reasons stated at least in part above,[145] a comprehensive critical edition as traditionally conceived of Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* is not what is being offered here. Yet the 'study edition' below, as well as those to follow in the series, is based on theoretical perspectives, even as it is designed primarily for scholars of medieval religion, theology, and cultural history; graduate and undergraduate students; and those interested in the Lord's Prayer as such.

The present edition and translation of Jordan's *Expositio*, as well as that of his *Opera Selecta* as such, is conceived as an instrument designed to aide the further study of Jordan and his works. By conceiving of an edition as an *instrumentum*, we are forced to focus the endeavor on the extra-textual bases for

144 See also Saak, "De tekstualiteit van laatmiddeleeuwse pastorale literatuur. Een *case study* van Jordanus van Quedlinburg, o.e.s.a., en Gabriel Biel."

145 See the Preface above.

the edition, namely, the questions of what the edition is intended to do, or to provide, and for whom, rather than what the edition is intended to be. It also accepts and embraces, rather than trying to limit or avoid, the artificiality of all editions. In this light, the 'instrumental' approach further requires re-thinking the components of an edition as such, and how they are presented. The traditional, standard division of editions into 'text' and 'apparatus' is called into question by viewing the edited text itself as an *apparatus*. All editions are unavoidably artificial, doing 'violence' to the historical texts of a work as they were composed and/or read. To limit the textual violence of an edition, editors can accept the fact that all editions are artificial, and on this basis—rather than strive to present a *representatio* of a particular text, even with the acknowledgement of the distance from the ideal such a representation necessarily is—to embrace the artificiality by creating an *instrumentum* designed to meet the stated goals and purposes of the edition.

To do so, we must make a clear distinction between 'text' and 'work'. The manuscript and textual traditions of a given work call into question appeals to the original words of an author as the basis for establishing and/or defining the 'text'. Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominice* is a case in point. As stated above, Jordan 'originally' gave his *Expositio* as a series of ten lectures on Matthew 6:9–13 in the Erfurt *studium* of the OESA in 1327. Jordan's *Expositio* is extant in 57 manuscripts. Jordan later incorporated his *Expositio* into his *Opus Postillarum*, his first major collection of sermons, as sermons 289–298, of which there are at least 37 extant manuscripts. The *Opus Postillarum* was published in Strassburg in 1483.[146] The Berlin manuscript of Jordan's *Expositio* is a mid-fourteenth-century copy that may seem to be very close to the 'original text'.[147] However, the collation of the extant manuscripts prove that the 'original text' does not exist. The Berlin manuscript was a copy. Moreover, Jordan continued to work on his *Expositio*, revising it for inclusion in his *Opus Postillarum*. Making for the moment the distinction between Jordan's text as present in the manuscript tradition of the *Expositio* (T_1), and as present in the manuscript tradition of the *Opus Postillarum* (T_2), neither sufficiently represents an 'authorial text', or rather both do. Thus, an editor would have to choose which text to edit, namely, T_1 or T_2, each of which are 'original' words of the 'author'. Further, should we posit the theoretical existence of all the documentation relating to the composition of the *Expositio*, namely, from Jordan's early notes and 'first draft' of his lectures, to all the various working copies of the *Expositio*, so that we would

146 See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 385.

147 *VF*, XXX.

have all the texts leading to T_1 (i.e., $Tn\text{-}_1$) as well as all the intermediate texts between T_1 and T_2 ($T_1|_2$), and perhaps further revisions to T_2 itself ($T_{2+}n$), since there is no conclusive evidence for the 'final version' of the *Opus Postillarum*, based on the definition of a text as the 'original' words of an author, the editors would have to choose between five original texts, namely, $Tn\text{-}_1$, T_1, $T_1|_2$, T_2 and $T_{2+}n$. The editor would either have to privilege a particular state of the text, i.e., choose a particular 'text of the text' so to speak, or, produce an eclectic edition, thus providing the proverbial 'text that never was'. Such a dilemma can only be solved by appealing to the psychologically idealized 'author's intent', or to an even more platonically conceived ideal of the 'ideal text', even if such a text never existed. As the distinction between text and manuscript makes clear, however, the problem of 'which text' to edit is not resolved by appeal to author's intent, without privileging a particular authorial intention, and in fact serves to problematize the extent to which 'author's intent' can serve as the basis for the establishment of 'the Text' in the first place.[148] The fact is that texts do not exist independently from the manuscripts which contain them, and in their 'socialized' forms, the texts, encoded within manuscripts, cannot be said to have been the product of a single author,[149] but are most often the product of a 'composite

148 On the problem of the 'author', see D.C. Greetham, "Editorial and Critical Theory: From Modernism to Postmodernism," in *Palimpsest. Editorial Theory in the Humanities*, ed. G. Bornstein and R.G. Williams (Ann Arbor, MI, 1993) 9–28; J.J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*; J.J.E. Gracia, *Texts. Ontological Status, Identity, Author, Audience* (New York, 1996). As Hans Zeller has noted in arguing for a genetic, as opposed to an eclectic theory of edition: "Normally a version has several variants. With respect to authorial intention (insofar as that concept retains interest) every variant or each new version may be regarded as the expression of a changed intention that is valid at a different point in time. The various versions are a diachronic sequence of distinct synchronic systems that together make up the history of the work. The eclectic editor contaminatingly synchronizes that which occurred diachronically; he or she deprives the work of its historical dimension in projecting all distinct versions onto one level and producing out of them a single, new version in the name of authorial intention." Zeller, "Structure and Genesis in Editing: On German and Anglo-American Textual Criticism" in *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*, ed. H.W. Gabler, G. Bornstein, and G.B. Pierce (Ann Arbor, MI, 1995) 95–123; 106.

149 The exception can be made that this is indeed the case, i.e., 'single authorship' for autograph manuscripts, where the author was also the scribe and rubricator; yet even with autographs, the problem of authorial version/intent is still present and thus, for example, G. Ouy has proposed the genetic edition presenting the various stages of composition; see G. Ouy, "Problèmes d'édition des manuscrits autographes médévaux," in J. Hamesse, ed., *Les Problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médévaux*, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales 13 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), 399–420; see also

author'.[150] The physical evidence of the manuscripts calls into question the distinction between manuscript and text. As Gracia has argued, the 'intended text' or the 'ideal text' never has concrete existence, and can only function heuristically, which may or may not raise interesting philosophical questions, but can only be appealed to by an editorial theory which posits the metaphysical idealized 'Author' and his/her Mind as the foundation upon which to base an edition.[151] Moreover, as both Gracia and Foucault have argued, it is not the 'historical author' to which we have access, but only the 'pseudo-historical author', or the 'author function', thus revealing the ideological implications of positing the mind of the historical author as the basis for the establishment of the definitive text and doing so at the expense of the empirical, physical evidence of the manuscripts themselves. This is not to claim, however, that 'authorial intent' has no role to play at all; as J.J. McGann has argued, the intent of the author, when taken not as referring to the hidden psyche of the historical person but to the historical production, or the 'authorial act', is an irreducible factor in determining the authority of a text.[152] The point to be made is that such intent is not the single factor for doing so.

The editor of Jordan's *Expositio* who would appeal to authorial intention alone would still be faced with the dilemma of privileging T_1 or T_2, and doing so independently from the witnesses, being forced to decide whether Jordan's 'real' intentions are more accurately represented by the earlier or the later phase, since the fallacy of *post hoc, ergo melius*, here applies; the revisions in no way conclusively indicate that they represent Jordan's 'final' intentions, and it must be asked whether an author's revisions in and of themselves represent more 'authentic' and 'genuine' views, or simply different. To use another thought experiment, it could be conceivable that Jordan continued to revise his text well into his old age and his senility. Thus, would his 'final' text, the product of a senile old man, be the most authoritative, or, based on the evidence of senility, would the editor be forced to decide which of the 'mature' versions was most genuinely representative of Jordan's mind? It could also be theoretically possible that later revisions were carried through based on some form of censorship, thus also calling into question the extent to which 'later' is 'better'. As a social product, a text was produced for a 'market', and thus the 'market' is an

---

D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship. An Introduction* (New York, 1994), 347–372; Henning Boetius, "Preliminary Reflections on a Generative Theory of Editing," in Gabler, Bornstein, and Pierce, eds., *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*, 153–170.

150 On the concept of author, and composite author, see J.J.E. Gracia, *Texts*.

151 Ibid.

152 McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 48–68.

inseparable aspect of the textualization process, whereby the abstract, psychological text of an author, even if such a 'text' could be said to exist in any case, is conditioned by the authorial and non-authorial 'censorship' of the textualization itself, based on the market for which the text is produced.[153]

Hence, variants cannot in and of themselves offer proof of authorial intention, namely, the editor must be aware of the *post hoc, ergo melius* fallacy. Although there is no direct evidence that Jordan's works were explicitly subject to censorship, they were written for a particular 'market'. The variants between T_1 and T_2 cannot in and of themselves be seen as Jordan's intended 'improvements', but only as his intended changes, and changes that could have been influenced by other factors than an abstracted, idealized 'artistic' or 'scholarly' intent present in Jordan's mind. In other words, Jordan's 'true intentions' cannot form the basis for privileging T_2 over T_1.

Yet if the choice were made to edit a particular manuscript independently from the 'text', thereby maintaining the distinction between manuscript and text, the editor would then have to decide on a particular manuscript, seeking a form that would preserve the integrity of at least one of the witnesses, disregarding the implications of T_1 and T_2; that is, one would decide to edit one of the manuscripts as an artifact irrespective of the text and the author's ephemeral intent.

The dilemmas posed by the distinction between the manuscripts and the text, however, appear in quite different light when the distinction itself is seen as false. Texts are not abstract entities, instantiations of a platonic ideal present in the mind of the historical person of the author, to be revealed by the equally philosophical ideal of the mind of the modern editor, itself a creation of a scholarly (and perhaps not so scholarly) ideology. Yet neither are manuscripts simple artifacts. Texts exist embodied in manuscripts, and are, as McGann has forcefully illustrated, social products. As such, editorial principles and theory must be developed and employed to meet the challenges posed by the distinction between the text and the work. To do so, the focus needs to shift, from the text or the work as such, to the textualization process, whereby the 'text' taken as a composite construction that cannot be reduced to 'authorial intention' or to the 'original' written words of a given author; as Brian Stock has put it, "the writing is not just the written, the product: it is whatever goes into the making of it."[154] Taking well into account Stock's caveat, namely, that "it is not possible to say precisely what is or is not a text. No definition is

153 Cf. P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 137.

154 B. Stock, *Listening for the Text. On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore, 1990), 2.

sufficiently comprehensive to cover all cases,"[155] editors need to develop ways to edit texts that allow for the texts to be edited based on the process by which the author's discourse was given concretized, written form. Focusing on the process of the textualization emphasizes that for many medieval texts such as Jordan's, editorial decisions cannot be made based upon authorial intent, or even upon authorial action, when either is interpreted as recreating the 'original' words of an author.

Within the context of medieval textual culture there could be a distinction to be made, it seems to me, analogous to the Sausseurian 'language' and 'speech', whereby a given 'text' is a speech act drawn from the far broader language of the textual culture. And if this might hold, successive instantiations of a given speech act are based as much upon the language of the textual culture as they are on the directly preceding exemplars of the given speech act. In short, what I'm trying to emphasize is that texts are products of psychic and social systems, rather than independent systems unto themselves, and if we can point to the development within a given textual tradition, that development speaks more for processes within the various systems producing the texts than it does for some organic evolution of the text as such. And in terms of processes, texts represent given significations of the fluid nature of the given system's production which can be described more accurately as phases of development, rather than generational descent or speciation of the products themselves. Given the fluidity of the various phases within the textualization process as such, in order to preserve the information value of such textual traditions, stemmatology must find ways to incorporate what I call 'phaseological textual taxonomy', whereby a textual phase is defined and/or identified as a discernable stage within the composition process marked by stages of revision less than completely new redactions.

In this light, one would need to construct a *stemma textuum* for the text being edited rather than a *stemma codicum*, based on phaseological textual analysis. By using the information contained in the *stemma textuum* and phaseological taxonomy, the focus for making editorial decisions is shifted from the burden of the author to the development of the text and the editor can then decide which phase of the text to choose to edit and which witnesses pertain thereto. If textualization and textual traditions are dynamic processes rather than sequential static states, a phaseological *stemma textuum* represents the tradition of the textualization more accurately than a *stemma codicum*, designed to yield information for recreating some crystalized, idealized autho-

155 Ibid., 14.

rial text. With phaseological analysis one can then incorporate the various textual phases within the edition when the edition is conceived as an *instrumentum*, producing thereby an historical-critical, genetic edition.

By constructing an edition as an *instrumentum*, we find that the *instrumentum* itself has significative value. The *instrumentum* approach, focusing on the functional rather than representational characteristics of the edition, has the secondary signification of the editorial ideology, making explicit the fact that all editions are also interpretations, thus bringing the editor into the realm of the interpreter explicitly and consciously, rather than implicitly and surreptitiously. Such would take significant steps toward closing the gap between editorial theory and literary studies, contributing thereby to the continuing development of the 'New Philology'. As David Hunt has put: "What is crucial about the editor's craft is its direct placement at that spot where modern concerns meet medieval ones in the very conception of the literary object. In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that editing is not simply prior to interpretation, it is consubstantial with it."[156] It is the interpretive nature of text editing that must come to the fore, one that takes as its point of departure and strives to make conscious and explicit its own interpretive stance. To this end, the editorial theory behind Jordan's *Opera Selecta* adopts the conception of the literary object whereby that object is not an author, nor a given text's *Überlieferungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, but rather the work as such, which is textualized in various phases instantiated in various manuscripts; texts are living texts, even before they are received.[157] The printed, edited text is thus itself conceived of as an *apparatus textuum*, which combines with the *apparatus criticus*.

Editors are first and foremost to serve the texts and their authors that are being edited, so that they may thereby serve contemporary scholars. Each text, each work, has its own challenges and unique problems, and editors must develop principles designed explicitly for the specific text being edited, based on the purpose(s) the edition is intended to serve, rather than on accepted, and unreflected upon, received scholarly ideals. This holds as true for monumental critical editions as it does for 'lesser' editions of 'lesser' texts, with different objectives and goals, as the current edition offered here of Jordan of Quedlinburg's *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*. This study edition, therefore, is

156 D. Hunt, "Reading it Right," in *The New Medievalism*, ed. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore, 1991), 126–127.

157 For perspectives on *Überlieferungseditionen*, see *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung. Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe zur Methode und Auswertung*, ed. Kurt Ruh, Texte und Textgeschichte 19 (Tübingen, 1985).

explicitly intended to be an *instrumentum*, making Jordan's work available for the stipulated audiences. The *instrumentum* here presented consists of the following *apparatus*: 1. the *apparatus textuum* (the apparatus of the text); 2. the *apparatus criticus abbreviatus* (an abbreviated critical apparatus); and 3. the *apparatus intertextuum et commentarius* (the intertextual apparatus and commentary). Thus the printed text and translation are conceived of as an *apparatus textuum*, with the *apparatus criticus abbreviatus* keyed to the printed Latin text. The *apparatus intertextuum et commentarius* then is keyed to the translated text. In less technical terms, the Latin text and the facing page English translation are followed by variant readings of the Latin text given as endnotes to the Latin text (Notes on the Text); and then by the identification of Jordan's sources and comments thereon as well as comments on the text and translation themselves, presented as endnotes to the translation (Notes on the Work).

The following is a list of all known manuscripts of Jordan's *Expositio* as an independent treatise from his *Opus Postillarum*:[158]

Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum, Ms. I.142, fol. 1–27
Augsburg, UB (formerly Harburg), Cod. II lat. 1 fol. 17, fol. 108–122
Augsburg, UB (formerly Harburg), Cod. II lat. 1 qu. 17, fol. 53–82
Augsburg, UB (formerly Harburg), Cod. II lat. 1 qu. 57, fol. 1–32
Basel, UB Ms. A. VI. 4. a. 1454, fol. 71^{r}–93^{r}
Berlin, SBB Ms. theol. lat. qu. 175, 14 s., fol. 73^{ra}–89^{vb}
Berlin, SBB Ms. lat. qu. 710 (Görres 152), fol. 204–223
Berlin, SBB, Ms. Magdeb. 160, a. 1429, fol. 181^{ra}–202^{vb}
Braunschweig, StB Ms. 93, fol. 153–163
Braunschweig, StB Ms. 120, a. 1429, fol. 63–86 (anonym)
Brno, Mestsky Archiv, Ms. 84 (59)
Danzig, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cod. Mar. Fol. 183, 15 s., fol. 212–227
Danzig, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cod. 1974, fol. 268–282 (anonym)
Eichstätt, UB, Cod. 450, fol. 318–338
Frankfurt a.M., UB, Ms. Praed. 125, fol. 124–160
Göttingen, SUB, Ms. Luneb. 22, fol. 431 seqq.

158 This list has been compiled from Zumkeller *MSS*, nr. 647 (301); Bloomfield, nr. 8440 (608); Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1949–1980), nr. 5138–5139 (3:465–466); and *Bibliographie Annuelle du Moyen Age Tardif. Auteurs et textes latins*.

Greifswald, Bibliothek des Geistlichen Ministeriums, Ms. XXXIII. E. 23, 15 s., fol. 246^{r}–216^{v}
Greifswald, Bibliothek des Geistlichen Ministeriums, Ms. VII. E. 77, fol. 154–175
Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, Ms. 674, fol. 351–358
Innsbruck, UB Cod. 584, 15 s., fol. 229^{r}–247^{v}
Kórnik, Bibliotheca Cornicensis, Ms. 1657, fol. 213–227
Luzern, Zentralbibl. K. B. 28, fol., vol. II, a. 1412, fol. 252va–269^{vb}
Mainz, SB Ms. I 29, 14 s., fol. 34–45
Mainz, SB Ms. I 53 b, fol. 140–157
Mainz, SB Ms. I 54, 14 s., fol. 141ra–149^{rb}
Munich, BSB Clm 3597, 15 s., fol. 44–76
Munich, BSB Clm. 7745, fol. 30–50
Munich, BSB Clm. 8151, a. 1348, fol. 85^{v}–106^{r}
Munich, BSB Clm. 12280, fol. 204–230
Munich, BSB Clm. 14566, fol. 66–77
Munich, BSB Clm. 23983, a. 1469, fol. 55–72
Opava, UB Ms. 14, fol. 84–106
Osnabrück, Gymnasium Carolinum Ms. II, fol. 56–157
Osnabrück, Bischöfliches Archiv, Ms. Frenswegen 4, fol. 1–32
Pommersfelden, Graf-Schönborn'sche Bibl. Ms. 180, ca. a. 1400, fol. 141^{v}–168^{r} (anonym)
Prag, Metr. Kap. Ms. A.115.3 (216), fol. 147–162
Prag, Metr. Kap. Ms. E.VIII (754), fol. 171–185
Prag, Metr. Kap. Ms. N.49 (1573), fol. 136–159
Prag, Metr. Kap. Ms. O.47 (1631), fol. 122–145
Prag, NB, Ms. 52, fol. 165–180
Prag, UB, Ms. III.C.19 (450), fol. 126–140
Prag, UB, Ms. VI.C.28 (1087), fol. 1–14
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 804
Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 77, fol. 126–141
Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 227, fol. 5–29
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket Cod. A. 199, 15 s., fol. 52^{r}–74^{r} (anonym)
Trier, StB Ms. 69, 15 s., fol. 194^{v}–210^{v}
Trier, StB Ms. 616, fol. 268–293
Vatican City, Vat. Bibl. Pal. Ms. lat. 456, 15 s., fol. 1–6 (anonym)
Warsaw, UB Ms. I.Q.37, fol. 212–235
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibl., Ms. 644 Helmst., fol. 307–337
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibl., Ms. 76.21. Aug. fol., 14 s., fol. 217–218 (excerpt)

Würzburg, UB Ms. M. ch. qu. 23, 14 s., fol. 53^{v}–55^{v} (excerpt; anonymous)
Zbior Mil.54.7445, fol. 290–406
Zwolle, Gemeentearchief Ms. 4, a. 1430 sqq., fol. 73^{r}–106^{r}.

For present purposes, I have based the edition of Jordan's text on the following manuscripts of his *Expositio* as an independent treatise and as *sermones* 289–298 of the printed *Opus Postillarum*:

A Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Ms. theol. lat. qu. 175, 157 fols.; Parchment; 2 col.; 23.5 × 17 cm.; Erfurt, St. Peter's Benedictine cloister; mid-14th cent.; bastarda, from two hands.
fol. 1ra–25^{vb}: Gaufridus Babion, *Enarrationes in Evangelium Matthei*.
fol. 26ra–41^{vb}: Statuta Provincialis Concilii Moguntini.
fol. 42ra–72^{vb}: Nicolaus de Argentina, *De Adventu Christi et Antichristi*.
fol. 73ra–89^{vb}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*.
fol. 90ra–117ra: Jacobus de Cessolis, *De Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium super Ludo Sacrorum*.
fol. 117va–156ra: Henricus de Frimaria, *De Decem Preceptis*.

Lit.: *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, 3 vols., described by Gerard Achten; vol. 1: Ms. theol. lat. qu. 141–266 (Wiesbaden, 1979), 112–114.

B Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 8151, in 4°, 111 fols.; Parchment; Mallersdorf, Benedictine cloister; a. 1347; bastarda.
fol. 1^{r}–54^{v}: Henricus de Frimaria, *Tractatus de Decem Preceptis*.
fol. 55^{r}–84^{v}: Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Decretalis 'Cum Marthe'*.
fol. 85^{r}–106^{r}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*.
fol. 106^{v}–111^{r}: blank.

Lit.: *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*: IV/1: *Codices Latinos Continens*, II/1 (Monachii, 1874), 4.

C Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 29, fols. 2ra–45^{rb}; Carthusian Cloister Mainz; Paper; 30 × 21 cm.; late 14th cent., cursive bookhand, from two hands (fols. 2–63; 64–136)
fol. 2ra–16ra: Henricus de Friemaria, *Expositio Decretalis 'Cum Marthae'*
fol. 16ra–17^{vb}: *De corpore Christi cum sex Quaestionibus*
fol. 18ra–33^{vb}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg (?), *Expositio Misse*
fol. 34ra–45^{rb}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*

fol. 45$^{va\text{-}vb}$: *Difinitio et Divisio Peccati*
fol. 46ra–55^{vb}: Henricus de Friemaria, *Tractatus de vitiis*
fol. 56ra–60va: *Quaestio de peccatis mortalibus*
fol. 60va–63^{vb}: *Notata de peccatis*
fol. 64ra–136^{vb}: Conradus de Soltau, *Lectura super c. Firmiter Credimus*

Lit.: G. List and G. Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1990), 65–66.

D Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 53b, fols. 139^{v}–156^{v}, Carthusian Cloister Mainz, Paper; 30 × 20.5 cm.; early 15th cent., bastarda and cursive bookhand, from two hands (fols. 1–106; 107–156) with three additional hands (fols. 157–177)
fol. 1^{r}–22^{v}: Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super evangelia dominicalia et quadragesimalia*
fol. 224^{r}–106^{v}: Conradus de Waldhausen, *Sermones de tempore*
fol. 107^{r}–139^{v}: Henricus de Friemaria, *Tractatus de decem praeceptis*
fol. 139^{v}–156^{v}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*
fol. 157^{r}–173^{v}: Matthias de Eversberg, *Sermones*
fol. 173^{v}–175^{r}: *De ieiunio*
fol. 175^{v}–177^{v}: *Sermo in visitatione* BMV

Lit.: G. List and G. Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1990), 114–116.

E Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 54, fols. 141ra–149^{rb}; Carthusian Cloister Mainz, Paper; 30 × 21 cm.; late 14th cent., cursive bookhand, from four hands (fols. 1–90; 91–132; 133–140; 141–149)
fol. 1^{r}–89^{v}: Johannes Andreas, *Hieronymianus*
fol. 91ra–132^{vb}: Henricus de Friemaria, *Tractatus de decem preceptis*
fol. 133^{r}: Thomas de Aquino, *De officio sacerdotis*
fol. 133^{r}–140^{v}: Robertus Grosseteste, *Templum domini*
fol. 141ra–149^{vb}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice* (fragment)

Lit.: G. List and G. Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1990), 118–119.

F Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.IV.3, fol. 71^{r}–93^{r}.; Paper; 28.5 × 20.5 cm.; Basel Dominican cloister; written by Balthasar, OCist., abbot in Czenua, a. 1454; bastarda

fol. 1r–58r: Johannes Müntzinger, *Compilatio sive Collectio cum certis questionibus circa Orationem Dominicam*
fol. 58v: blank
fol. 59r–65v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Expositio super Oratione Dominica*
fol. 66r–68v: Nicolaus v Papa (?), *Tractatus brevis de Oratione Dominica*
fol. 69r–70v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Dicta super salutationem Angelicam*
fol. 71r–93r: Jordanus Saxo de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*
fol. 93v–100r: Petrus de Alliaco, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*
fol. 100v–106v: blank
fol. 107r–110v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Symbolum Apostolorum Glossaliter Collectum*
fol. 110v–118r: Johannes Müntzinger, *Expositio Symboli Nicaeni*
fol. 118v–122v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Expositio Symboli Athanasiani*
fol. 123r–133r: Johannes Franco Scholaster Meschedensis, *Aurea Fabrica de Laudibus Virginis Gloriosae*
fol. 133v–138v: blank
fol. 139r–150v: Johannes Müntzinger, *De Penitentiis et Remissionibus*
fol. 151r–164v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Tractatus de Anima*
fol. 165r–166r: Henricus Hembuche de Hassia, dictus de Langenstein, *Tractatus de Predestinatione*
fol. 166v–167v: Henricus de Hassia, *Tractatulus de Modo Vincendi Carnem*
fol. 168r–170v: Henricus de Hassa, *Tractatus de Corpore Christi*[159]
fol. 170v–174r: Johannes Müntzinger, *Aliqua Notabilia super Tractatum Henrici de Langenstein de Corpore Christi, et Quatuor Questiones de eadem Materia*
fol. 174v: blank
fol. 175r–182r: *Tractatus de Penis Inferni*
fol. 182v–186v: blank
fol. 187r–195r: Aegidius de Colonna Romanus, *Tractatus de Peccato Originali*
fol. 195v: blank
fol. 196r–226v: Aegidius Romanus, *Tractatus de Predestinatione et Prescientia, de Paradiso et Inferno, et ubi Predestinati et Presciti sunt finaliter Collocandi*
fol. 227r–290v: Aegidius Romanus, *Tractatus de Formatione Humani Corporis*

159 In a handwritten note in the catalogue, dated 21 May 1929, K. Heilig attributed the four treatises ascribed to Henry of Langenstein here to Henry Totting of Oyta.

fol. 291^{r}–292^{v}: blank
fol. 293^{r}–310^{v}: Aegidius Romanus, *Tractatus de Laudibus Divine Sapientie*
fol. 311^{r}–314^{v}: blank

G Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 53, fols. 271; Carthusian Cloister Mainz; Parchment; 29×21 cm.; a. 1447, cursive bookhand and bastarda
fol. 1ra–271^{rb}: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Opus Postillarum et sermonum de tempore*

Lit.: G. List and G. Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1990), 112–113.

S *Opus Postillarum et Sermonum Jordani de Tempore*, Strassburg: Georg Husner; 1483.
fol. 1^{a}: title.
fol. 2^{a}–14^{b}: tabula.
fol. 15^{a}: Incipit: *Incipit Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de evangelii dominicalibus compilatum a fratre Jordano de Quedlinburg, lectore Magdeburgensi ordinis fratrum heremitarum beati Augustini …*
fol. 233^{b}: Explicit: *Explicit Expositio Dominicae Passionis cum suis theorematibus … unus deus per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen.* (sermo 254).
fol. 234–235: blank.
fol. 236^{a}–242^{b}: tabula.
fol. 243^{a}: continuatio operis (sermo 255).
Explicit: *Explicit Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de evangeliis dominicalibus compilatum a fratre Jordano de Quedlinburg, lectore Magdeburgensi ordinis fratrum heremitarum beati Augustini. Impressum Argentine Anno domini* M CCCC *lxxxiij*.

Lit.: Hain, *Rep. Bibl.*, nr. 9438; Hümpfner, intro., xxxi–xxxiv; GW M15120 (for a detailed decription and links to digitized copies, see http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M15120.htm).

The construction of a *stemma codicum* or of a *stemma textuum* as proposed above is not possible without a comprehensive collation of all the extant manuscripts, and of all the extant manuscripts not only of Jordan's *Expositio* as an independent treatise, but also of those as sermons 289–298 of his *Opus Postillarum*. Thus the discussion of the relationship of these manuscripts to the textual tradition of Jordan's work is necessarily preliminary and speculative.

Hümpfner suggested that A was Jordan's own copy which he prepared for publication.[160] The textual variants, however, clearly show that this could not have been the case. Moreover, the transmission of Jordan's text evidences characteristics of what Paul Zumthor termed *mouvance*, a noted lack of stability within the textual traditions of widely disseminated medieval texts.[161] Yet Zumthor formulated his conception based on anonymous works transmitted, at least in part, orally, leading Bernard Cerquiglini to propose the term *variance* as an alternative.[162] Both Zumthor and Cerquiglini though focused on texts that were anonymous, or for which authorial 'ownership' was not a primary concern. Jordan, however, was clear to include an author's colophon, identifying his work as his own,[163] so that we cannot claim that Jordan's *Expositio* and its transmission are best described as representing *mouvance* or *variance*. It was though a rather unstable text, which evidences the viability of a phaseological analysis as described above.

A and B are both dated to the mid fourteenth century, with C and E dated to the late fourteenth century. While A and B are closely related, omissions from each witness an earlier manuscript that either served itself as the source of both, or that was the origin of the textual tradition, or phase, that served as the source for both, which for present purposes I will term α. E stands alone among the manuscripts here selected based on its unique readings. E, however, is only a fragment, breaking off during lecture six. It does at times in any case seem to be of a more academic nature, and one that is less polished, perhaps representing the earliest phase of Jordan's text or even a *reportatio* thereof. E does, though, contain both marginal and interlinear corrections made by the scribal hand, indicating that E was being copied from an exemplar, which I will label β, which may have been a *reportatio*. G is closely related to α, though represents the text as present within Jordan's *Opus Postillarum* as *sermones* 289–298. As such, G includes as well marginal lettered sectional division of the individual sermons as found in S, though S includes text not represented by any of the manuscripts used here, with one exception, which for present

160 *VF*, XXX.

161 Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Collection Poétique (Paris, 1972).

162 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante* (Paris, 1989).

163 See Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 172–178; cf. Trapp's discussion of 'heraldic mystifications', which was another way authors used to 'identify' and 'copy right' their work; Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century," 269–272. Jordan's use of his name for his *Opus Jor* and *Opus Dan* is one such 'heraldic mystification'. Jordan, for his *Expositio* and for his collections of sermons, was very conscious of his own authorship, once again, before the "age of Gerson".

purposes I will refer to as the *additiones* of S. These *additiones* are not present in G, though G does include an *additio* of its own in Lecture 10, not present in S or in the other manuscript witnesses used here. The *additiones* of S, though not of G, are, however, in part present in F, indicating contamination of the textual traditions between the text as an independent treatise and as sermons included within the *Opus Postillarum*. The origins of the textual tradition of the *Expositio* as *sermones* 289–298 of the *Opus Postillarum* I will term here γ, which seems to have influenced D as well, which at times follows readings unique to α and at times readings unique to γ, but not readings unique to β. In her edition of sermons from the *Opus Postillarum*, Nadia Bray confirmed Joseph Koch's position that S represents a text of high quality, thus giving weight to the *additiones* as reliable witnesses to the textual tradition(s) of γ.[164] Bray did not, however, include, or even mention, G. Bray argued that based on the sixty manuscripts used for her edition, the establishment of the text could be based on four, two from what she identified as the α group and two from the β group, the latter of which represents the vast majority of the extant witnesses (here α and β refer to Bray's groupings, not to what I have referred to as α and β for the present edition).[165] While I am not challenging Bray's findings based on the sermons she edited, the evidence here presented from G and F indicates that the construction of the *Opus Postillarum* was far more complex than implied by her sample. This may, though, apply only to those texts of Jordan's which he had previously composed and then included in the *Opus Postillarum* as sermons, which includes his *Expositio* edited here. The fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Opus Postillarum*, Berlin, SBB, Ms. theol. fol. 132, for example, simply omitted the text of Jordan's *Expositio* and that of his *Meditationes de passione Christi* (*sermones* 189–254), perhaps based on their availability as independent treatises. In Berlin, SBB Ms. theol. fol. 132 *sermo* 288 is included, followed then by *sermo* 289, or the first Lecture of Jordan's *Expositio*, on fol. 247va. The text, though, breaks off shortly thereafter on fol. 248ra with the note *defectus*, with an additional marginal note in the top margin to which a line is drawn from the text, which states: *hic deficiunt sermones decem*. The text then continues with sermo 299. Bray included the first volume of this ms, Berlin, SBB Ms. theol. fol. 131, in her edition as part of her β group, without though mentioning the omissions later in the work. The text fragment from Jordan's *Expositio* as *sermo* 289 present in this manuscript presents readings at times otherwise here unique to S, as well as following at times readings unique to G, though also

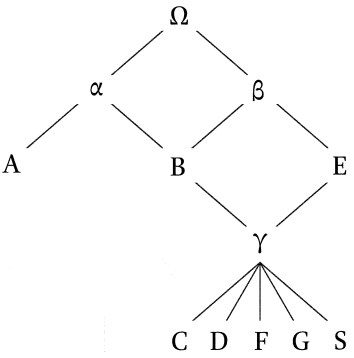
164 Bray, *Opus Postillarum et Sermonum*, 6.

165 Ibid., 11.

including readings of γ represented by D and C. C is closely related to G, though is so as an independent treatise, not as part of the *Opus Postillarum*. As such C often shares readings with D F G and S, thus serving as an additional witness to γ and may witness the earliest phase of Jordan's revision process, either as such, or for the purposes of the *Opus Postillarum*, for C at times too shares readings with S not witnessed in the other manuscripts used here. Berlin, SBB Ms. theol. fol. 132 at times follows C against S, indicating as well the instability of the textual tradition of the *Opus Postillarum*, at least with respect to *sermones* 289 to 298. In short, the textual tradition(s) of the *Opus Postillarum* was more complex and less stable than indicated by Bray's edition of Jordan's sermons on the Nativity.

In light of the above, the following stemmatic relationship can be established for the present edition, constructed as a *stemma textuum*, rather than as a *stemma codicum*: none of the manuscripts here selected served as the exemplar of any of the others.

Stemma textuum:



On this basis then we can determine the following textual phases:

Phase I Ω, α, β, E
Phase II A, B
Phase III γ, C, D, F, G, S

As here presented, Phase I includes the 'original' text of Jordan's lectures (Ω, α), including the possible *reportatio* (β), witnessed in the present sample by E. Phase II then is the text as revised by Jordan for publication as a separate treatise, with Phase III including further revisions of that text as well as the

revisions undertaken for inclusion within the *Opus Postillarum*, and the cross-contamination of the various textual traditions. Further work on the textual traditions of Jordan's *Expositio*, both as an independent treatise and as *sermones* 289–298 of the *Opus Postillarum*, may indicate the need to establish additional phases, whereby what I have now referred to as Phase III would be divided into Phase III A, that of the revisions of the *Expositio* as an independent treatise, and Phase III B, the revisions for the *Opus Postillarum*, for example. For present purposes, however, the three posited phases given here suffice, and witness the complexity of the textual tradition and the need for further work to determine the textual history of Jordan's work and its reception.

The text edited below is based on the reconstruction of Phase II, with A serving as the base text. I have followed the readings of A with the exceptions of omissions, errors, or when the sense required. I have included all textual variations in the apparatus with the exception of orthographic variation and word order inversions, so that the reader can, based thereon, reconstruct the text of Phase III as well, including, based on the individual manuscripts, or *scripta* to use Dagenais's term, the text of Jordan's *Expositio* as read by the Benedictines in Erfurt and Mallersdorf, that read by the Carthusians in Mainz, and the printed text as present in the *Opus Postillarum*, as well as having indications of the text as Jordan presented it to the Augustinians in Erfurt (Phase I).

For present purposes I have introduced paragraphs in keeping with the structure of the text. Similarly, I have standardized the orthography based on A, though I do distinguish between 'u' and 'v', and have modernized the punctuation. Numbers of biblical and other book chapters I have written out, though they appear variously in the mss. as at times written out, others abbreviated, and at times too simply given in Roman numerals. Emendations, which though occur rarely, are noted by brackets ⟨ ⟩ within the text, and are identified as such in the "Notes on the Text" (i.e. with the notation *scripsi*).

The positive identification of Jordan's sources to the extent possible to date is given in the "Notes on the Work," keyed to the translation. Here one will find biblical references, references to the authorities Jordan cites, and his uncited sources, which are primarily Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Friemar. I have included too reference to an additional possible source for Jordan, namely, Guilelmus Durandus' *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*.[166] Guilelmus's *Rationale*, composed c. 1295, was widely known, to the point that it has been claimed that it should serve a similiar function for the study of the liturgy in the later Middle Ages as does Peter Lombard's *Sentences* for the study of high and later

166 See Durandus, *Rat*.

medieval theology.[167] Jordan surely knew the *Rationale*. While there are few direct parallels between the text of Durandus and Jordan's *Expositio*, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the *Rationale* may very well have been on Jordan's desk as he composed his *Expositio*, or at least served as a text Jordan knew that informed his treatise.

In addition to the identification and discussion of Jordan's sources, one will also find in the "Notes on the Work" parallel passages from Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, d'Ailly's *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio* and the *Pater Noster cum expositione summaria*. I have not, though, by any means attempted to be comprehensive in giving all parallel passages to all potential parallel sources. It is clear, I feel, that Jordan's *Expositio* was used directly by Ludolph, d'Ailly, Biel, and the *Pater Noster cum expositione summaria*, which is indicative of significant influence, and thus I give all parallel passages here.

Translations, even perhaps more than editions, necessarily create new texts. I have endeavoured to produce a readable translation that is accurate and faithful to the Latin, even if literary quality takes a back seat. This is not to say that I have endeavored to translate "word for word". Doing so would often make no sense. I have at times expanded the condensed Latin for sake of clarity, repeating subjects of dependent clauses and the like. In short, I have in the translation "added" to Jordan's Latin where I felt such additions were needed in order to make the meaning of Jordan's Latin clear in English. The reader can in all such cases compare the translation with the facing Latin edition. The goal was to produce a readable translation that is faithful to the Latin text, rather than to produce a literary, elegant translation. Translations, perhaps even to a greater extent than editions, are likewise interpretive, and I am keenly aware that I have at times chosen a particular translation that could be rendered differently, resulting in a change in meaning. I have noted such cases in the "Notes on the Work," though I have not included each and every instance where an alternative translation might alter the meaning, nor have I included my own deliberations concerning how best to translate a given passage. In the translation, I have included quotation marks for Jordan's direct quotations, even when the text Jordan cites has at times varying closeness to the text of his source in modern critical editions; in other words, quotation marks indicating Jordan's direct quotation are based on Jordan's text, not on that of the text he is citing, and thus quotation marks cannot be used to determine precisely how Jordan dealt with his own sources. When his quotation is either

167 "Le Rationale devint pour l'étude de la liturgie médiévale ce qu'étaient les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard pour la théologie." Ibid., viii.

word for word, or nearly so, I list the reference in the Notes on the Work; when there is substantial paraphrase in Jordan's quotation, or where perhaps Jordan is quoting from memory which is not always exact, I list the reference in the Notes as cf. Quotation marks are not used for Jordan's uncited 'borrowings', e.g. from Henry of Friemar and Thomas Aquinas; references to the borrowings are though given in the Notes on the Work. For the translation, I have used Arabic numerals for biblical citations, and have standardized the style and form of citation.

The translation remains a work of interpretation, and as such it is offered here as an integral part of the *instrumentum*. Both the translation and the Latin text on which it is based are therefore new creations, serving though to represent instrumentally Jordan's work of nearly 700 years ago in the hope that by doing so, Jordan's voice, now however distant and distorted, might, to the extent possible, be heard once again.

Jordani de Quedlinburg
Expositio Orationis Dominice

Jordan of Quedlinburg's
Exposition of the Lord's Prayer

∵

Sigla and Abbreviations

A Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Ms. theol. lat. qu. 175 (mid-14th cent.)
B Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 8151 (1347)
C Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 29 (late 14th cent.)
D Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 53b (early 15th cent.)
E Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 54 (late 14th cent.)
F Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.IV.3 (1454)
G Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Ms I 53 (1447)
S *Opus Postillarum et Sermonum Jordani de Tempore*, Strassburg: Georg Husner, 1483

add.	addidit (-erunt etc.)
cf.	conferatur
cod.	codex
corr.	correxit
in marg.	in margine
it.	iteravit
lin.	linea
om.	omisit
script.	scriptum (-a etc.)

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_003

Incipit Expositio orationis dominice[1]
Lectio prima

Pater noster.[2] Huic dominice orationi beatus Gregorius premittit prefationem sive[3] prologum in officio misse, que[4] talis est:[5] Preceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere.[6] In quo prologo Gregorius[7] duo facit:[8] primo innuit istius sacratissime orationis dignitatem et eminentiam cum premittit:[9] Preceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati;[10] secundo indicit[11] nobis[12] orandi audaciam,[13] dans impetrandi confidentiam[14] cum subiungit:[15] audemus dicere. Dignitas autem cuiuslibet[16] ex suis causis colligitur,[17] et tanguntur[18] in hoc prologo quatuor cause istius orationis.[19]

Materialis in hoc quod dicit[20] 'preceptis salutaribus'.[21] Nam omnes iste[22] petitiones sunt de preceptis,[23] utpote de hiis que sunt de necessitate[24] salutis.[25] Unde Cyprianus in libro[26] *De dominica oratione* dicit istam[27] orationem[28] esse compendium preceptorum divinorum, ut patet[29] in quadam auctoritate posita in fine presentis[30] opusculi.

Finalis[31] tangitur in hoc quod dicit[32] 'moniti'. Monitio enim fit vel ut adipiscamur[33] finem vel ne[34] decidamus a fine. In hac autem oratione utrumque monemur petere:[35] et ut pertingamus[36] ad finem[37] beatitudinis eterne[38] et ut removeantur impeditiva[39] ipsius finis, ut patet[40] infra[41] in[42] lectione tertia.[43]

Efficiens[44] innuitur[45] cum dicitur[46] 'divina[47] institutione'. Hec enim oratio divinitus est instituta puta[48] ab ipso Christo[49] dictata, ut patet Matthei sexto et Luce undecimo. Propter quod dominica oratio nuncupatur[50] et ob[51] hoc ista oratio merito efficacissima est et maxime exaudibilis,[52] quia sicut[53] dicit Chrysostomus super Mattheum: Pater non libenter orationem exaudit,[54] quam filius non[55] dictavit.[56] Cognoscit enim pater sensus et verba[57] non recipit que usurpatio humana cogitavit, sed ea que Christus patris sapientia exposuit.[58] Et[59] Cyprianus, *De oratione dominica* sic[60] dicit: cum ipsum Filium advocatum apud Patrem habeamus[61] pro peccatis nostris,[62] quando[63] peccatores[64] pro delictis nostris petimus,[65] advocati nostri[66] promamus verba.[67] Nec mirum si ista oratio est singulari efficacia a Christo dictata.[68] Si enim[69] papa vel episcopus est[70] dictans[71] aliquam[72] orationem,[73] eam speciali dotat[74] gratia[75] puta certam[76] dando indulgentiam dicentibus eam,[77] sicut est[78] de[79] quadam oratione domini Johannis Pape vicesimi secundi[80] de passione domini,[81] quanto magis credendum est Christum[82] suam[83] orationem singulari[84] gratie[85] dotasse[86]

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_004

Here begins the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer
Lecture 1

Our Father. Blessed Gregory, in his explanation of the office of the mass, included a preface, or a prologue to the Lord's Prayer, which is as follows: "Being warned by saving commandments and formed by divine teaching, we dare to say."[1] In this prologue, Gregory did two things: First, he pointed to the dignity and eminence of that most holy prayer when he wrote: "Being warned by saving commandments and formed by divine teaching." Second, he showed us the courage needed to pray, giving the confidence of supplication when he added: "we dare to say."[2] The dignity, however, of anything arises from its own causes, and the four causes of this prayer are treated here in this prologue.

The material cause is shown in the words: 'saving commandments'. For all the petitions of the prayer stem from the commandments, especially from those that are necessary for salvation. Wherefore Cyprian, in his book *On the Lord's Prayer*, said that this prayer is a compendium of divine commandments,[3] as will be shown in a certain proof text at the end of the present work.[4]

The final cause is indicated by the words: 'being warned', for a warning comes about either so that we might reach our end or so that we might not fall away from our end. In this prayer, however, we are warned to ask for both; both that we might reach the end of eternal beatitude and that the impediments to that end might be removed, as will be shown in the third lecture.

The efficient cause is contained in the words: 'by divine teaching', for this prayer is divinely instituted, namely, taught by Christ himself, as is clear in Matthew 6 and Luke 9. On account of this it is called the Lord's Prayer and on this basis it is fitting that this prayer is most efficacious and the one most listened to, because just as Chrysostom said on Matthew: "The Father does not freely listen to a prayer, which his son did not speak. For the Father knows the meaning and does not receive words which human usurpation conceives, but those which Christ explained with the wisdom of the Father."[5] And Cyprian in *On the Lord's Prayer* thus said: "since we have the Son himself as an advocate before the Father for our sins, when we as sinners ask forgiveness for our sins, we use the words of our advocate."[6] No wonder then if that prayer taught by Christ is singularly efficacious. For if the pope or a bishop has decreed some prayer, giving it a special grace, namely, a certain indulgence given to those praying it, just as is the case with a certain prayer of the lord Pope John XXII on the Passion of the Lord,[7] how much greater is it to be believed that Christ has endowed his own prayer with a singular privilege of grace? Wherefore it

privilegio. Unde impossibile[87] est[88] ceteris paribus aliquam orationem[89] esse uberiorem[90] et magis exaudibilem quam sit[91] ista,[92] immo nec eque. Sciendum ergo quod hec sanctissima oratio specialiter[93] super omnem orationem triplicem habet effectum seu efficientiam.[94] Est enim hec oratio pre omnibus exaudibilis et impetrativa,[95] ut patet ex[96] auctoritatibus Chrysostomi et Cypriani iam[97] premissis.[98] Et[99] secundo mentis sursum proiecta[100] provehimus.[101] Ipsa enim secundum Cassianum provehit[102] ad illam igneam et per paucos[103] expertam orationem, que omnem transcendit humanum sensum, quam auctoritatem habes infra post Amen in fine.[104] Est enim[105] peccatorum venialium expulsiva,[106] propter quod[107] Augustinus[108] et alii[109] doctores sancti[110] dicunt[111] ipsam[112] valere ad expiationem venialium peccatorum.[113] Nec[114] dubium quantoplures[115] alios[116] effectus salubres licet[117] nos latentes habeant,[118] quos[119] divina clementia secundum uniuscuiusque orantis devotionem et affectum misericorditer influit et[120] dispensat.[121]

Formalis vero causa tangitur in eo quod dicit[122] 'formati'.[123] Hec enim oratio est nobis forma orandi, et quantum ad res petendas et quantum ad ordinem petendorum.[124] Propter quod ipsa est[125] totius nostri affectus informativa. Quantum ad res petendas quidem,[126] quia[127] ut dicit Glossa super Mattheum huic orationi: nichil deest quod his[128] septem petitionibus non contineatur,[129] sive ad presentem sive ad futuram pertineat vitam;[130] et Augustinus *Ad Probam*:[131] Si recte, inquit,[132] et congruenter[133] oramus nichil aliud dicere[134] possumus nisi[135] quod in oratione dominica positum est, quod[136] per plura exempla deducit ut[137] patet infra post Amen. Quantum[138] ad ordinem etiam[139] postulandorum, quia eo ordine quo hic ponitur[140] postulanda sunt ut patet infra[141] lectione[142] tertia.[143]

Secundo, inducit nobis audaciam petendi[144] dans inpetrandi confidentiam, cum subiungit 'audemus dicere'.[145] O quanta[146] fiducia et fiducialis audacia quod[147] factura factorem,[148] servus dominum, homo deum patrem suum audeat[149] nuncupare[150] et regnum eius postulare! Quis umquam ausus[151] est[152] in veteri lege talia presumere? Nemo utique, quia ut[153] dicit Glossa super Mattheum, deus[154] antiquis ut servis loquebatur[155] dominus nunc deus[156] pater,[157] cui non timore[158] sed amore[159] servimus,[160] et[161] beatus[162] Augustinus in[163] *Sermone domini in monte* dicit[164] sic:[165] nusquam invenitur preceptum populo[166] Israel, ut diceret[167] *pater noster*, sed est eis[168] insinuatus tamquam dominus servis. Nos igitur per sanguinem Ihesu Christi adoptionis filii[169] effecti confidenter clamamus:[170] *Abba, pater*, secundum Apostolum ad Galatas quarto.[171] Audenter[172] ergo[173] dicere possumus *pater noster*.[174]

is impossible that, other things being equal, some other prayer is more fruitful and more desirably heard than the Lord's Prayer, or even equal to it.[8] It is to be known, therefore, that this most sacred prayer has a special three-fold effect or efficacy above all others. For this prayer is heard and received more than all others, as is clear from the authorities of Chrysostom and Cyprian already mentioned. And in the second place, we direct our minds to things above.[9] For that prayer, according to Cassian, leads to that burning prayer experienced by few which transcends all human senses,[10] the proof text for which you have below, after the *Amen*, at the end of this work.[11] For this prayer is the expulsion of venial sins, on account of which Augustine and other holy doctors said that it works for the expiation of venial sins.[12] No doubt there are many other salvific effects though hidden to us, which divine clemency mercifully distributes and with which God fills us according to the devotion and affections of each one praying.

The formal cause, however, is contained in the words 'being formed', for this prayer is for us a form of praying,[13] with regard both to the things being sought and to the order of the petition, on account of which it informs all our heartfelt desires.[14] This is certainly the case with regard to the things being sought, because as the Gloss on Matthew said to this prayer, "nothing that is not contained in these seven petitions pertaining either to the present, or to the future life is lacking,"[15] and Augustine *To Proba*: "If," he said, "we pray rightly and congruously, we are able to say nothing more than what is contained in the Lord's Prayer,"[16] an understanding that is further expanded with many examples below, after the *Amen*.[17] The 'order of asking' is likewise contained in the formal cause of 'being formed' because by that order which is given here are included those things that are to be sought, as will be shown below in the third lecture.[18]

In the second place, the prayer brings us the security of asking, giving us the confidence of seeking, when Gregory added, "we dare to say". O how much trust and trustful boldness that something to be made would dare call his maker father, or a servant his Lord, or a man God and to seek His kingdom! Who under the old law would dare to presume such? No one surely, because as the Gloss said on Matthew, by the ancients God would be called Lord, as by servants, now God is called Father, whom we serve not with fear, but with love,[19] and blessed Augustine in his *On the Sermon on the Mount* thus said, "there has never been found a commandment that the people of Israel were to say 'Our Father', but God was made known to them as if a Lord to servants."[20] We therefore having been made sons by adoption through the blood of Jesus Christ confidently cry, 'Abba, Father', according to the Apostle in Galatians 4.[21] Boldly therefore we are able to say, *Our Father*.[22]

Dividitur autem hec oratio[175] in exordium, tractatum et conclusionem. In exordio benevolentia captatur, cum dicitur: *Pater noster, qui es in celis*; in tractatu petitiones ordinantur, cum subditur:[176] *sanctificetur*[177] etc.;[178] in conclusione confirmatio petitionum optatur, cum in fine[179] subnectitur:[180] *Amen*.[181]

Circa primum dubitaret[182] aliquis, quia in vanum videmur[183] captare benevolentiam eius qui[184] sua benevolentia nos prevenit;[185] sed deus sua benevolentia nos prevenit[186] quoniam[187] ipse *prior dilexit nos*, ut dicitur prima[188] Iohannis quarto.[189] Superflue ergo[190] premittitur captatio benevolentie.[191]

Ad quod[192] dicendum,[193] quod captatio benevolentie non premittitur propter deum, ut ipse flectatur, sed propter nos, ut fiducia petendi in[194] nobis ipsis excitetur, quia secundum Augustinum:[195] Deus semper paratus est[196] nobis dare suam lucem, sed nos non semper[197] sumus parati accipere.[198] Unde[199] ex parte nostri requiritur devotionis[200] excitatio, que est[201] quedam[202] divine benevolentie captatio.[203] Igitur quod aliquis non habeat fiduciam petendi aliquem, contingit ex duobus:[204] aut quia presumit illum dare nolle, aut dare non posse. Econtrario,[205] fiducia[206] petendi[207] excitatur aut considerando eius quem petimus erga nos dilectionem[208] qua bonum nostrum vult, aut considerando eius potentiam et maiestatem qua id[209] quod petimus dare potest. Et hec duo[210] in hoc exordio consideranda[211] proponuntur; ratione primi, dicimus, *Pater noster*; ratione secundi, *qui es in celis*. Propter considerationem primi dicit Augustinus in libro *De sermone domini in monte*: Quid iam[212] non det[213] filiis petentibus,[214] cum hoc ipsum ante dederit ut filii essent? Dicit enim[215] Chrysostomus quod hoc verbo mens orantis dupliciter erigitur: et dignitate eius qua invocatur et magnitudine beneficiorum quilibet[216] orans potitus est.[217]

Est autem[218] notandum, quod ipse[219] deus[220] dicitur *pater noster* tripliciter, secundum triplex esse quod ab eo[221] accepimus,[222] scilicet nature, gratie, et glorie. Esse nature dedit nobis in creatione; esse gratie in recreatione[223] sive redemptione;[224] et[225] esse glorie dabit in regni communicatione.[226] De primo,[227] Deuteronomii trigesimo tertio:[228] *Numquid non*[229] *ipse est pater tuus, qui possedit et*[230] *fecit et creavit te*?[231] 'Fecit' inquam[232] secundum corpus; 'creavit'[233] secundum animam; 'possedit'[234] secundum utrumque. De secundo,[235] Isaie septuagesimo tertio: *Tu domine pater noster et*[236] *redemptor noster*,[237] *a seculo nomen tuum*. Ipse enim *voluntarie genuit nos verbo veritatis*,[238] Iacobi

This prayer is divided into the introduction, the main section, and the conclusion. In the introduction, goodwill is ensured, when it is said, *Our Father, who art in heaven*; in the main section, the petitions are ordered, when it is added, *hallowed* etc.; in the conclusion, the confirmation of the petitions is sought, since in the end is added the *Amen*.[23]

Concerning the first, someone might question that we seem to seek the good will of him, who precedes us with good will, in vain; but God precedes us with His good will, since He himself *first loved us*, as is said in 1John 4.[24] It is superfluous therefore to begin by seeking God's good will.

To this should be said that we do not seek to gain God's good will on account of God, so that He himself might be appeased, but on account of us, so that the trust in asking might be aroused in ourselves,[25] because according to Augustine, "God is ready to give us his own light, but we are not always ready to receive it."[26] Wherefore, an arousal of devotion is required of us, which is a certain seeking of divine good will. That someone might not have the trust to ask someone for something arises from one of two things: either because he assumes that the person being asked does not want to give what is asked, or is not able. Contrarily, trust in asking is aroused either from considering the love for us of him whom we ask on account of which he desires our good, or by considering his power and majesty by which he is able to give what we ask. And these two factors are placed here in the beginning of the prayer to be considered: by reason of the first we say, *Our Father*; by reason of the second, *who is in heaven*.[27] With respect to the first Augustine, in his book on the *Sermon on the Mount*, said: "for what would he not give his sons when they ask, when he had already given them to become his sons?"[28] For Chrysostom said that by this word the mind of the one praying is encouraged in two ways: "both by God's dignity by which He is invoked, and by the magnitude of benefits in which the one praying is placed."[29]

It should be noted, however, that God himself is called *Our Father* in a threefold way, according to the threefold Being that we have received from him, namely, the Being of our natural being, the state of grace, and the state of glory.[30] Our natural being God gave to us in creation; our Being in the state of grace God gives to us in His re-creation or redemption; and our Being in the state of glory God will give to us in bringing forth His kingdom.[31] Concerning the first, it is said in Deuteronomy 33: *is he not your father who formed you? Did he not make you and create you?*[32] God 'made you', I say, according to your body; He 'created you' according to your soul; and He formed you according to both. Concerning the second we read in Isaiah 63: *Thou, Lord, art our father; thy name is our Ransomer from of old*.[33] For *willingly, he gave us birth by declaring the truth*, as is written in the first chapter of James.[34] Concerning the third

primo.[239] De tertio, Galatarum[240] quarto:[241] *Itaque iam non est servus, sed filius, quod si*[242] *filius et heres per deum*.[243] Ad[244] Romanos octavo: *heredes quidem dei, coheredes autem Christi*.

Hoc[245] triplex esse quod a deo recepimus,[246] correspondet[247] triplicibus[248] beneficiis que filius carnalis accepit[249] a patre.[250] Primum beneficium[251] est generationis,[252] quo[253] in esse nature[254] producitur quantum ad primum.[255] Secundum est beneficium educationis,[256] quo nutritur et alitur quantum ad secundum.[257] Tertium beneficium[258] hereditationis,[259] quo[260] vite solacium ducitur[261] quantum[262] ad tertium.[263] Et hec tria[264] comprehenduntur in illo[265] dicto poetico,[266] quod assumit Paulus Actuum septimo decimo:[267] *in ipso*, scilicet deo, *vivimus*,[268] *movemur, et sumus*.[269] Sumus, inquam, in natura; movemur in gratia; vivimus in gloria.[270] Ratione primi, deus est a nobis[271] summe laudabilis; ratione secundi,[272] valde amabilis;[273] ratione tertii,[274] maxime[275] desiderabilis.[276] Oramus ergo[277] *Pater noster*: laudabilis in creatione; amabilis in redemptione; desiderabilis in regnis communicatione.[278]

Cadunt autem super hec particularia[279] tres dubitationes. Prima est,[280] quare Christus non docuit nos dirigere orationem[281] ad se,[282] ut diceremus,[283] 'Christe,[284] fili dei, qui es in celis etc.',[285] vel[286] aliquid huius,[287] quod[288] tamen[289] videretur esse[290] conveniens cum persona filii sit[291] magis familiariter coniuncta per susceptionem nature,[292] quare[293] etc.[294]

Ad hoc dicendum quod[295] quia filius est a patre et[296] quidquid habet nascendo accepit,[297] ut Augustinus dicit, ideo patri honorem semper attribuit,[298] iuxta illud Johannis octavo:[299] *Ego*[300] *gloriam meam non quero*,[301] *sed honorifico patrem meum*[302] etc.[303] Nec obstat quod filius magis coniunctus[304] est nobis,[305] et quod in ipso redempti sumus, quia nostra[306] redemptio originaliter a patre[307] fuit, qui,[308] ut nos redimeret, filium suum in mundum[309] misit, etiam omnes tres persone simul una adoratione adorantur, et ideo non refert. Principaliter tamen oratio dominica[310] dirigitur ad patrem[311] propter causam iam[312] dictam. Vel potest dici, quod[313] hoc nomen 'pater' non accipitur hic personaliter, sed essentialiter prout omnibus personis[314] simul convenit.[315] Omnia enim illa tria esse in nobis tota trinitas[316] operatur et dat,[317] cum opera trinitatis ad extra sint indivisa.[318]

Secunda dubitatio est,[319] quare dixit potius 'pater'[320] quam 'dominus'[321] vel 'deus' vel[322] aliquid huius[323] quod tamen magis sonaret in reverentiam, nam et filii nobilium suos patres dominos appellant[324] secundum morem quarumdam terrarum.[325]

we read in Galatians 4: *You are therefore already no longer a slave, but a son, and if a son, then also an heir*.[35] And in Romans 8: *We are God's heirs and Christ's fellow-heirs*.[36]

This threefold Being which we receive from God corresponds to the threefold benefits which a natural son receives from his father.[37] The first benefit is that of birth, by which a son is brought forth in his natural being, with respect to the first being we receive from God. The second benefit is one of education, by which a son is nurtured and fed, which corresponds to the second being we receive from God. The third is the benefit of heredity, by which he is led to the comfort of life, corresponding to the third being we receive from God. And these three beings are understood in that poetic saying, which the Apostle Paul put forth in Acts 7: *in him*, namely in God, *we live and move, and exist*.[38] 'We exist', I say, in nature; 'we move' in grace; and 'we live' in glory. By reason of the first God is most highly praiseworthy; by reason of the second, most loveable; and by reason of the third, desirable above all. Therefore we pray *Our Father*, who is praiseworthy in his creation; loveable in his redemption; and desirable in bringing us his kingdom.[39]

Three questions, however, come about concerning these particulars. The first is: why Christ did not teach us to direct the prayer to himself, so that we would say: "Christ, son of God, who is in heaven, etc." or something similar, which at least would seem to be fitting since the person of the son is more familiarly related to us through his accepting human nature, wherefore etc.?

To this is should be said that because the son is from God and whatever he had, he received from his birth, as Augustine said, therefore he always gave honor to the father, according to John 8: *I do not seek my own glory, but I honor my father*,[40] etc. Neither is it an objection that the son is more closely related to us, and that in him we are redeemed, because our redemption was originally from the father, who sent his son into the world so that he might redeem us. And further, all three persons of the Trinity are adored at the same time with a single adoration, and therefore there is no problem. Nevertheless the prayer is principally directed to the father for the reasons already given. Or it can be said that this name 'father' is not taken here in a personal sense, but essentially so that it is fitting for all the persons at once. For the Trinity effects and gives each of those three beings which we receive from God, since the works of the Trinity in creation are undivided according to persons.[41]

The second question is: why the prayer says 'father' rather than 'lord' or 'God', or something else along these lines since such would seem to sound more reverent, for even sons of nobles call their own fathers lords, in keeping with the customs of certain countries?

Ad quod dicendum, quod ideo non dixit[326] 'dominus' sed 'pater', ut prebeat nobis fiduciam petendi, ut dictum est;[327] servus enim non faciliter exauditur a domino, filius autem[328] a patre[329] facillime.[330] Unde[331] dicitur Luce undecimo:[332] *Si vos bona data*[333] *nostis*[334] *dare filiis vestris, quanto magis pater*[335] *celestis dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se?* Nec obstat, si nomen domini magis sonat[336] in reverentiam;[337] nomen tamen[338] patris magis[339] sonat in amorem et confidentiam.[340]

Tertia dubitatio est,[341] quare non dixit[342] 'meus', sed 'noster', quod tamen videretur[343] congruum, cum simus persone private quibus pluraliter[344] locutio videtur[345] sonare in pompam.[346]

Ad quod dicendum, hic[347] dicit 'noster' primo[348] ad designandum differentiam filiationis Christi et nostre. Christus enim[349] filius dei est[350] per naturam, quod sibi est singulare,[351] et ideo[352] sibi competit dicere, 'pater meus'.[353] Nos autem[354] sumus filii dei per[355] adoptionis gratiam,[356] quod est conveniens;[357] hanc filiationis differentiam signavit[358] ipse Christus cum dixit[359] Iohannis vicesimo:[360] *ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum*;[361] 'meum' inquam[362] per naturam[363] singulariter, 'vestrum' autem[364] per gratiam communiter.[365] Secundo, ad insinuandum quod non debeamus tantum[366] orare pro nobis, sed etiam pro[367] proximis.[368] Unde[369] Cyprianus, in ⟨libro *De*[370]⟩ *oratione dominica*:[371] Pacis[372] et unitatis[373] magister noluit[374] sigillatim et[375] privatim precem fieri, ut quis, cum[376] precatur, tantum[377] pro se precetur.[378] Est enim[379] nobis communis oratio; dominus enim[380] unum pro omnibus orare voluit, quia in uno ipse[381] omnes[382] portavit. Unde etiam[383] dicit Chrysostomus: Pro se orare necessitas cogit, pro altero[384] caritas fraternitatis hortatur. Dulcior[385] est enim[386] ante[387] deum oratio, non quam necessitas transmittit,[388] sed quam caritas fraternitatis commendat. Ex quo habetur[389] quod quanto oratio[390] communior, tanto[391] efficacior. Tertio,[392] ad innuendum[393] nos omnes[394] esse fratres, tam pauperes quam divites, nobiles et ignobiles.[395] Unde[396] Augustinus in libro[397] *De sermone domini in monte*: Admonentur hic divites et genere nobiles, non superbire adversus pauperes et ignobiles,[398] quoniam[399] simul dicant deo *pater noster*, quod non possunt vere[400] ac pie[401] dicere, nisi se fratres esse cognoscant. Unde Christus dixit[402] Matthei vicesimo tertio: *omnes autem vos fratres estis* etc.[403] Has[404] duas ultimas rationes[405] et quasdam[406] alias tangit Chrysostomus[407] super Mattheum dicens[408] sic:[409] dicendo, inquit,[410] 'noster'[411] docet[412] generalem orationem[413] pro fratribus facere[414] et ubique non tam propria[415] commoda quam proximorum requirere,[416] hoc etiam[417] ipso[418] inimicitias interimit,[419] superbiam reprimit et[420] invidiam expellit,[421] matrem vero[422] omnium[423] bonorum[424] caritatem

To this it should be said that the prayer did not say 'lord' but 'father' in order to bring about the trust of asking,[42] for as it is said a servant is not easily listened to by his or her lord, whereas a son is readily heard by his father. Wherefore it is stated in Luke 11: *If you then, know how to give our children what is good for them, how much more will the heavenly Father give a good spirit to those who ask him?*[43] Thus there is no objection if the name of 'lord' sounds more reverent, since the name of 'father' sounds more loving and as giving confidence.

The third question is: why does the prayer not say 'my' rather than 'our',[44] which would after all seem more fitting since we are private persons, to whom it seems pompous to use the plural?

To this is should be said that here 'our' is used first to distinguish between the sonship of Christ and our sonship. For Christ is the son of God by nature, which is unique to him and therefore it is fitting for him alone to say, 'my Father'. We, however, are sons of God through the grace of adoption, which is common.[45] Christ himself indicated this distinction in sonship when he said in John 20: *I am ascending to my Father and your Father*.[46] 'My' father, I would submit, is here taken uniquely for Christ's nature; 'our' father, however, is taken communally based on the sonship we have through grace. Second, we say 'our' rather than 'my' Father to let it be known that we ought to pray not only for ourselves, but also for our neighbors. Wherefore Cyprian wrote in his book *The Lord's Prayer*: "The teacher of peace and the master of unity did not want the prayer to be private and individual, so that when someone would pray, he would pray only for himself. For this prayer is a prayer for us all, for the Lord wanted that one person would pray for all because he himself bore all in one."[47] And further Chrysostom said: "necessity compels one to pray for himself; brotherly love exhorts one to pray for another. For a prayer is sweeter in God's eyes which necessity has not brought before Him, but which brotherly love offers."[48] Thus it is that the more communal a prayer is, the more efficacious it is. Third, we say 'our' rather than 'my' father to intimate that we are all brothers, rich or poor, noble or common. Wherefore Augustine in his book *The Sermon on the Mount* wrote: "Here the rich and the nobles are warned not to be proud over-against the poor and the common folk, since they all call God 'Our Father' at the same time, which they would not be able to say truly and sincerely unless they acknowledged each other as brothers."[49] Hence Christ said in Matthew 23: *You, however, are all brothers*, etc.[50] These last two reasons, and certain others, Chrysostom treated in his commentary on Matthew, thus saying: "by saying 'our'," he said, "Christ taught how to make a general prayer for brothers and everywhere to seek not your own needs, as much as those of your neighbor, for thus it kills enmity, suppresses pride, and banishes envy, but it brings forth

introducit, humanarum[425] rerum[426] inequalitatem prorsus excludit,[427] mutuam regem cum paupere equalitatem habere ostendit, et per[428] hoc patet solutio[429] ad obiectum.[430]

maternal love of all good, entirely excluding the inequality of human concerns, revealing that the king has a mutual equality with the pauper."[51] And thus the answer to the question.

Lectio secunda

Qui es in celis.[1] Hoc[2] excitatur[3] in[4] nobis fiducia petendi ex eo quod ipse, quem oramus,[5] est potens dare[6] quod petimus.[7] Tanguntur autem hic tria que ad potentiam pertinent et excellentiam, videlicet infinitas, eternitas et maiestas; que tria sunt omnibus[8] tribus personis communia, nec alicui alteri a deo attribui[9] possibilia. Propter quod istis verbis,[10] *qui es in celis*, magis[11] proprie nominamus deum[12] quam predictis,[13] scilicet *pater noster*, quia cum dicimus *pater noster* nominamus eum[14] per comparationem[15] ad nos; cum vero dicimus, *qui es in celis*, nominamus eum per considerationem[16] in se.[17] Infinitas tangitur[18] in eo quod dicitur[19] *qui*, quod secundum grammaticos est nomen infinitum. Eternitas notatur[20] cum dicitur *es*,[21] quod secundum grammaticos est verbum sonantium[22] significatione presens, consignificatione primum resolutione,[23] quia in ipsum omnia alia[24] verba resoluntur,[25] que tria eternitati congruunt. Illud[26] enim est[27] vere eternum,[28] quod[29] per seipsum subsistit a nullo dependens,[30] quod[31] semper presens incommunicabiliter[32] persistit[33] et quo[34] nichil prius existit. Maiestas[35] notatur[36] cum additur,[37] *in celis*, que[38] sunt corpora virtute[39] et[40] potentissima.

De primis duobus simul—et[41] est sciendum[42] quod iste due[43] dictiones, *qui es* simul accepte congruentissime deo—conveniunt in tantum quod per eas[44] deus, qui innominabilis est, quasi[45] proprio[46] nomine explicatur.[47] Unde[48] Exodi tertio decimo, cum Moyses quereret[49] de nomine dei: Si querunt,[50] inquit,[51] *quod est nomen eius qui misit te, quid dicam*?[52] Respondit dominus: *sic*, inquit,[53] *dices filiis Israel, qui est misit me*,[54] et[55] congruentissime,[56] ut ipse, qui est infinite essentie et eterne subsistentie nomine infinito et verbo sonativo[57] explicetur,[58] propter quod[59] Damascenus ⟨in[60]⟩ libro secundo ⟨*De fide orthodoxa*[61]⟩ capitulo duodecimo:[62] Quod[63] hoc nomen, *qui es*, est quedam[64] substantie[65] pelagus[66] infinitum. Et hoc[67] pulchre declarat beatus[68] Bernardus in libro *De consideratione* ad Eugenium[69] dicens:[70] Merito deus per[71] *qui es* exprimitur. Nil revera competentius eternitati, que[72] deus est.[73] Si enim iustum, bonum, pulchrum vel quidquid tale[74] dixeris in hoc verbo restauratur *qui es*. Nempe hoc est ei esse[75] quod[76] hec omnia esse, etsi centum talia[77] addideris

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_005

Lecture 2

Who is in heaven.[1] This phrase of the prayer arouses in us the trust of asking in so far as He, to whom we pray, is able to give what we ask.[2] Here however three things are concerned that pertain to God's power and excellence, namely, His infinity, His eternity, and His majesty. These three attributes are common to all three persons of the Trinity, nor is it possible that these attributes can be attributed by God to any one else. Wherefore with these words, *who is in heaven*, we name God more properly than with the preceeding words, namely, *Our Father*, because when we say, *Our Father* we refer to God in comparison to ourselves, but when we say *who art in heaven*, we refer to God with respect to God as He is in Himself. God's infinity is implied by the word *who*, which according to the Grammarians is a 'indefinite noun'.[3] God's eternity is noted when *is* is spoken, because according to the Grammarians *is* is a present verb with expressed signification, with the consignfication of the first resolution, because in it all other verbs are resolved.[4] These three are thus congruent with eternity, for that is truly eternal which subsists of itself, depending on no one else, which is always present, persisting inexplicably, nothing prior to which exists. God's majesty is noted when *in heaven* is added, for the heavens are comprised of the most powerful and virtuous bodies.

Taking the first two words together—and it should be known that those two words *who is* taken together are most congruent with God—is most fitting in so far as through them God, who is unnameable, is designated with his own proper name. Thus in the third chapter of Exodus when Moyses asked what the name of God was, *If the sons of Israel ask*, Moyses said, *what is his name who sent you, how do I respond?*, the Lord replied: *thus*, God said, *say to the sons of Israel, he who is sent me*,[5] and this was a most appropriate response so that He who is of infinite essence and of eternal substance might be designated by an infinite name and a substantive verb, on account of which John Damascene wrote in the second book, chapter twelve of his *On the Orthodox Faith* that this name, *who is*, is a certain infinite sea of substance.[6] And this blessed Bernard beautifully declared in his book *On Consideration* saying to Pope Eugene: "It is right that God is refered to as *who is*, for nothing indeed is more fitting to the eternity which is God. For if you would call God Justice, the Good, the Beautiful or anthing else of this sort, it is included in the words *who is*. Certainly this is for him to be all these things and even if you would add a hundred other designations, you would not get away from God as Being itself. If you were to call God all those things, you would not be adding anything in addition to His

ab esse[78] non recessisti, si ea[79] dixeris, nichil[80] addidisti, si non[81] dixeris nichil[82] minuisti.[83]

Dubitaret autem[84] hic[85] aliquis,[86] utrum hoc nomen, *qui es*, possit[87] convenire proprie cuilibet[88] divinarum personarum.[89] Et[90] videtur quod non, quia[91] secundum predicta hoc nomen[92] non[93] convenit[94] nisi ei, qui[95] per seipsum existit,[96] non dependens ab aliquo, nec habens aliud[97] prius se. Sed hoc solum videtur[98] convenire patri, qui[99] solus a nullo est,[100] non habens aliud[101] prius[102] se; alie autem persone prius[103] sunt ab eo et ipse eis[104] prior est, ergo etc.[105]

In contrarium est quod[106] dictum est supra,[107] quod hec oratio ad totam trinitatem dirigitur, quare etc.[108]

Dicendum quod hoc nomen *qui es* convenit omnibus tribus personis simul[109] generaliter et singule persone singulariter. Primum patet quod[110] cum in essentia divina nulla sit distinctio realis et hoc nomen significet[111] essentiam quod de se patet; planum est quod convenit simul[112] omnibus[113] tribus.[114] Secundum etiam[115] patet, nam[116] quelibet persona per seipsum[117] subsistit,[118] quia dicitur[119] Iohannis quinto: *Sicut enim pater habet vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et*[120] *filio vitam habere in semetipso*,[121] et similiter de[122] spiritu sancto.[123] Et sicut[124] de vita,[125] ita[126] eadem ratione est[127] de esse.[128] Quelibet ergo persona habet esse in seipsa[129] et per seipsam. Unde nulla earum dependet ab alia, licet una sit ab alia.[130] Aliud est enim 'dependere ab alio'[131] et aliud[132] 'esse ab alio',[133] quia 'dependere'[134] dicit[135] imperfectionem; esse autem 'ab alio' notat originis[136] nomen.[137] Nulla quidem[138] personarum habet aliud[139] prius se, licet bene habeat alium[140] priorem se. Et nec illa est prioritas durationis qualis derogat eternitati, sed est[141] prioritas originis, que non repugnat coeternis et coevis,[142] ut patet in exemplo de[143] sole et de[144] eius[145] splendore,[146] de pede in pulvere et[147] vestigio secundum Augustinum, et per ista patet solutio[148] ad obiectum.[149] Tertium pertinens ad potentiam et excellentiam est maiestas, que notatur in[150] hoc quod dicit[151] *in celis*.[152] Possumus autem[153] hic per celos intelligere vel celos corporales, corpora scilicet[154] supercelestia, vel celos spirituales, animas scilicet[155] sanctas,[156] vel etiam[157] celos eterne beatitudinis.

Primo modo[158] accipiendo hic[159] celos,[160] statim[161] cadit[162] dubium,[163] quia[164] et qualiter deus dicatur esse in celis potius quam in aliis locis, cum tamen[165] deus sit ubique, et non claudatur[166] aliquo loco.

Ad hoc dicendum quod deus dicitur esse in celis non quod localiter ibi moretur, quia ut dicit Augustinus: Deus non spatio locorum continetur, si enim

being Being; if you would not use any other designations for God except Being, you would not take anything away from God."[7]

Some however, would question here whether the name *who is* is able to be applied properly to each of the divine persons, and it would seem that it cannot be so applied because according to what I have just written this name only fits the one who exists of himself, who does not depend on anyone else, and does not have anything or anyone existing prior to him. But this seems to apply only to God the Father, who alone exists of Himself, not having anything prior to Him, whereas the other persons are from God the Father and He is prior to them. Therefore, etc.

To the contrary can be said what was stated above, that this prayer is directed to the entire Trinity. Therefore, etc.

It should be said that this name *who is* is fitting for all three persons together in a general sense, and to each individual person in a particular sense. In the first place it is evident that since there is no real distinction in the divine essense, and this name signifies the divine essence, which is self-evident, it is clear that it can be applied to all three persons. In the second place, it is evident, for each person exists of itself, because in John 5 it is written: *For just as the Father has life in and of himself, so did he grant to his son to have life in and of himself*,[8] and the same can be said about the Holy Spirit. And just as it is with respect to life, so the same reasoning can be applied to Being. Each person therefore has Being in and of itself. Wherefore none of the persons are derived from another, although one is from another. For it is one thing 'to be dependent' on another, and another thing 'to be from another', because 'to depend' implies imperfection; 'to be from another', however, indicates origin. None of the persons certainly has anything previous to itself, although they do indeed have something prior to themselves. Yet this is not a priority of duration, as if it would take away from the divine eternity, but it is a priority of origin, which does not speak against the eternity and everlastingness of the divine person, as is clear in the example of the sun and its splendore and the footprint in the sand, according to Augustine,[9] and this sufficiently replies to the objection. The third aspect pertaining to divine power and excellence is divine majesty, which is indicated by the words *in heaven*.[10] Here we are able to understand the heavens as either the physical heavens, namely the celestial bodies, or as the spiritual heavens, namely, the saints, or even as the heavens of eternal blessedness.[11]

In the first way of understanding 'heavens' a question immediately arises, because it is asked how God is said to be 'in the heavens' more than in other places, since God is everywhere and is not confined to any particular place.

To this it can be answered that God is said to be *in heaven* not in a spatial sense as though he would loiter there, because as Augustine said: "God is not

in celis locus esse dei[167] credatur melioris meriti[168] sunt aves, quarum[169] vita est deo vicinior.[170] Dicitur tamen[171] potius esse[172] in celis quam in aliis locis propter quinque rationes.[173] Primo,[174] quia in eis[175] magis[176] relucet maiestas[177] divine operationis. Secundo,[178] propter rudes homines, quia secundum[179] Augustinum[180] convenit ut[181] omnium sensibus, tam[182] magnorum quam[183] parvulorum[184] bene sentiatur[185] de eo.[186] Et ideo qui[187] nondum[188] possunt aliquid[189] incorporeum cogitare,[190] tolerabilior est eorum opinio, si[191] deum in celis potius esse credant[192] quam in terra. Tertio,[193] ut innuat[194] quod celestis pater celestes vult habere filios.[195] Unde dicit[196] Chrysostomus: erubescant se terrenis rebus substernere,[197] qui patrem habent in celis.[198] Quarto,[199] ut[200] orantes celestia petamus. Unde[201] Chrysostomus in homelia:[202] in celis deum esse dicit non illic eum[203] concludens[204] sed a terra abducens[205] mentem orantis et[206] celestibus affigens. Quinto,[207] ut hereditatem nostram in celis[208] queramus. Unde Cassianus in *Collationibus patrum*: ad illam, inquit,[209] regionem in quam[210] patrem nostrum morari fatemur, summo desiderio properemus.[211] Propter predictas etiam rationes[212] orantes ad orientem nos[213] convertimus,[214] unde celum surgit, secundum Augustinum.[215] Dicamus ergo:[216] *Qui es in celis*: pelagus infinitatis; seculum[217] eternitatis; speculum[218] maiestatis.

Potest etiam illud secundo[219] exponi de celis spiritualibus, id est sanctis,[220] de quibus celis[221] dicitur in Psalmo: *Celi enarrant gloriam dei*.[222] Dicuntur autem veri[223] sancti[224] celi propter tria: propter[225] spiritualis ornatus pulchritudinem et sponsitatem;[226] propter[227] celestis conversationis celsitudinem et puritatem; propter[228] divine inhabitationis sanctitudinem et dignitatem.[229] Primum patet, quia sicut[230] celum corporale[231] est ornatum sole,[232] luna et stellis,[233] sic illud.[234] Unde[235] Bernardus[236] super[237] Cantica sermone vicesimo octavo: in celo, inquit,[238] spirituali[239] puta[240] anima sancta sol est intellectus, luna fides, stelle virtutes; et sicut stelle[241] in nocte lucent[242] in die latent,[243] sic vera virtus, que in prosperis non apparet,[244] eminet in adversis.[245] Secundum[246] patet per Augustinum[247] in libro *De*[248] *sermone domini in*[249] *monte* ubi dicit quod[250] tantum[251] spiritualiter interesse[252] videtur[253] inter iustos et peccatores, quantum[254] corporaliter[255] inter celum et terram.[256] Et hoc[257]

contained in a spatial location, for if it was believed that *in heaven* refers to God's place of residence, the birds would have greater merit than humans since their realm of living would be closer to God."[12] Neverthless God is said to be 'in the heavens' more than in other places for five reasons. First, because in the heavens the majesty of divine deeds shines forth more strongly. Second, on account of the unlearned, because according to Augustine, it is fitting that God being in heaven might be perceived readily by the senses of all, by the great as much as by the small.[13] And therefore it is more tolerable for those who are not yet capable of grasping the abstractness of incorporality to believe that God is in the heavens than it is for them to believe that God is on earth. Third, so that it might indicate that the heavenly Father desires to have heavenly sons. Wherefore Chrysostom said: "those are ashamed to keep themselves concerned with earthly matters who have a father in the heavens."[14] Fourth, so that in praying we might ask Him for heavenly things. Wherefore Chrysostom in a homily said that "God is in the heavens not as being confined there, but we say that God is in the heavens to lead the mind of the one at prayer away from earthly matters, impressing on it heavenly concerns."[15] Fifth, so that we might seek our inheritance in the heavens. Wherefore Cassian in his treatise *The Conferences of the Desert Fathers* wrote: "to that region," he said, "in which we profess our father to reside, we might draw near with the highest desire."[16] On account of the aforesaid reasons, in praying this phrase we reorientate ourselves to the rising of the sun in the East, whereby the prayer lifts us to the heavens, according to Augustine.[17] We say, therefore, *Who is in heaven*, as the sea of infinity; as the everlastingness of eternity, and as the mirror of majesty.

This phrase is also able to be expounded as referring to the spiritual heavens, that is, the saints, who are referred to as the heavens in the psalm: *The heavens tell of the glory of God*.[18] The saints are thus called the true saints of heaven on account of three things: on account of the beauty and desirability of their spiritual ornateness; on account of the heavenliness and purity of their heavenly conduct; and on account of the sanctity and dignity of their divine dwellilng. The first is clear, because just as the corporeal heaven is ornamented with the sun, the moon, and the stars, so is the spiritual heaven. Wherefore Bernard in the twenty-eighth sermon of his commentary on the Song of Songs said: "In the spiritual heaven, that is namely, holy souls, the sun is the intellect, the moon is faith, and the stars are the virtues; and just as the stars shine at night and are hidden during the day, so the true virtue, which is not apparent in prosperity, comes forth in adversity."[19] The second is clear from what Augustine wrote in his book *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, where he said that it seems that there is as much spiritual likeness of Being between the just and the sinners as there is corporeal likeness of Being between heaven and earth.[20]

accidit ex diversitate affectuum, nam affectus iusti est[258] circa celestia,[259] iuxta illud Philippiensium tertio:[260] *Nostra conversatio in celis est*; peccatorum[261] autem affectus circa terrena versatur,[262] de quibus dicitur in Psalmo:[263] *oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*. De tertio patet,[264] quia anima iusti sedes est sapientie, sedes autem dei celum dicitur, iuxta illud Isaie sexagesimo sexto:[265] *celum michi sedes est*.[266] Nec mirum, ut dicit Bernardus[267] ubi supra, si[268] libenter inhabitata[269] celum. Hoc dominus Ihesus,[270] quod[271] utique,[272] non quomodo ceteros,[273] dixit tantum ut fieret,[274] sed pugnavit ut acquireret, occubuit[275] ut redimeret. Ideo post laborem voto potitus[276] ait:[277] *hec requies mea in seculum seculi*,[278] *hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam*.[279] O beata illa[280] anima, cui dicitur, 'veni electa mea[281] et ponam in te thronum meum'. Ut[282] autem anima[283] semper[284] magis et[285] magis sit capax dei,[286] oportet eam per gratiam et caritatem[287] extendi et dilatari, dicente[288] Apostolo secunde Corinthiorum quinto:[289] *dilatamini in caritate*. De hac dilectione[290] et extensione dicitur in Psalmo:[291] *extendens celum sicut pellem*, quod verbum[292] pertractans Bernardus[293] ubi supra dicit[294] pellis cum ungitur[295] dilatatur[296] sic anima[297] misericordia dei ungitur et gratia dilatatur,[298] dilatatur autem[299] non[300] in substantia, sed in virtute quo etiam modo[301] *crescit in templum sanctum in domino*,[302] Ephesiorum secundo.[303] In istis celis, scilicet sanctis animabus,[304] deus tria operatur. Accepta sunt[305] tria, que videmus in celis corporalibus, in quibus maxime maiestas divine operationis relucet. Habent enim celi: in lumine claritatem; in motu regularitatem; in virtute caliditatem. His[306] correspondent[307] in sanctis:[308] deus[309] illuminat intellectum, removendo errorem; regulat affectum, ordinando amorem; attendit[310] ad[311] profectum,[312] ministrando vigorem.[313]

De primo, Psalmo:[314] *Quoniam tu*[315] *illuminat lumen*,[316] id est intellectum meum, *domine* etc.[317] De secundo, Canticorum secundo:[318] *Ordinavit in me caritatem*, que quidem[319] ordinatio in hoc attenditur[320] ut diligantur[321] diligenda,[322] et[323] eo ordine, quo diligenda sunt. Et[324] per hoc omnes motus affectionum[325] nostrarum regulariter ordinantur.[326] De tertio, Psalmo:[327] *Et enim celi*[328] *distillaverunt a facie dei Synay; a facie dei Israel*.[329] Isti celi sunt sancti, qui distillant[330] diffundando opera caritatis, que quidem diffusio[331] convenienter[332] dicitur distillatio;[333] 'distillare' enim est guttatim[334] stillas diffundere. Sic est in profectu[335] spirituali, quo paulatim et quasi[336] guttatim de una virtute ad aliam proceditur. Nemo enim[337] repente fit summus perfectionis[338] et cum[339] quis[340] omnes virtutes, quasi iam perfectus habuerit, diffundat

And this comes about from the diversity of affections, for the affections of the just concern heavenly things, according to Philippians 3: *Our comportment is in heaven*;[21] the affections of sinners, however, turn about earthly things, about which it is written in the psalm: *they determined to keep their eyes cast down to the earth*.[22] The third is clear because the soul of the just is the seat of wisdom. The seat, however, of God, is said to be heaven, in keeping with Isaiah 66: *heaven is for me a throne*.[23] There is no wonder as Bernard said above, if the holy soul freely resides in heaven. This heaven the Lord Jesus indeed not only told how it might come to others, but also fought so that he might acquire heaven for them, and he laid in the grave so that he might redeem them. Therefore after his work, he said firmly with a vow: *this is my rest for eternity, here I will live, since I have chosen it*.[24] O blessed is the soul to whom it is said: *come my chosen one and I will place you on my throne*.[25] So that, however, the soul might become increasingly capable of receiving God, it is fitting that the soul is extended and expanded by grace and charity, saying with the Apostle in 2 Corinthians 5: *you are extended in charity*.[26] Concerning this love and extension it is said in the psalm, *extending the heaven as a tent*,[27] treating which words Bernard said as above that when a hide is oiled, it is extended, and thus the soul is oiled by the mercy of God and is extended by grace;[28] it is, however, not extended in substance, but in virtue for in a certain way *it grows into the holy temple in the Lord*,[29] as is written in Ephesians 2.[30] In these heavens, namely, the holy souls, God works three things, which we take as those things we see in the corporeal heavens, in which the majesty of divine works shines forth most clearly. The heavens have clarity in their light; regularity in their motion, and warmth or heat in their virtue. To these correspond in the saints that God illumines the intellect by removing errors; regulates the affections by ordering love; and attends to their continued growth by administering strength.

Concerning the first we read in the psalm: *Since you Lord illumine the light*,[31] etc., that is, my intellect. About the second we read in the second chapter of the Song of Songs: *He orders love in me*,[32] which certainly is an order in that it makes for those things that are to be loved, to be loved, and in the order in which they are to be loved. And thus all our heartfelt desires are placed in a regular order. Concerning the third we read in the psalm: *For the heavens poured forth in the presence of the God of Synai, in the presence of the God of Israel*.[33] Those heavens are the saints, who 'pour themselves forth' by pouring out works of charity, which certainly is a diffusion that is conveniently said to be a 'pouring forth'. 'To pour forth' is to pour out drops, drop by drop. And thus too is it in the course of spiritual growth, which step by step, as if drop by drop, proceeds from one virtue to the next. For no one reaches the summit immediately, and when someone would have all the virtues as if he was already perfect, he would pour

stillam cuiuslibet virtutis per operis exercitium secundum oportunitatem temporis, ut[341] nunc distillat[342] murram amaritudinis[343] per carnis mortificationem, secundum illud[344] Canticorum quinto:[345] *Manus mee distillaverunt murram*, nunc[346] distillant[347] favum dulcedinis per doctrinam et contemplationem,[348] iuxta illud[349] Canticorum quarto:[350] *favus distillans labia tua*.[351] Et sic[352] discurrendo per singulas virtutes quelibet virtus stillam sui actus[353] suo tempore diffundat.[354] Hec autem distillatio[355] est a facie dei Sinai et[356] Israel. Sinai[357] interpretatur 'mandatum[358] meum'[359] et significat[360] activam vitam,[361] que consistit in mandatorum[362] dei observationem;[363] Israel, quod[364] interpretatur[365] 'videns deum',[366] significat[367] contemplativam vitam; utraque enim vita a facie dei est,[368] a qua[369] omnis nostra distillatio sumit meritum[370] et profectum. Dicamus ergo: *Qui es in celis*:[371] illuminans intellectum; ordinans affectum;[372] accedens[373] ad profectum.[374]

Tertio hic[375] potest exponi de celis beatitudinis eterne, ex quorum consideratione maxime[376] mens ad orandum excitatur. Proponitur ergo[377] in hac exordiali particula[378] deus esse[379] in celis, ut ad illud perveniendum[380] tamquam ad patriam tota nostra figatur[381] intentio,[382] ubi patrem nostrum morari[383] memoramur, ut dicit[384] Cassianus ubi supra.[385] Dicitur autem[386] *in celis* pluraliter propter distinctiones premiorum, iuxta illud, Iohannis quarto decimo:[387] *In domo patris mei mansiones multe sunt*.[388] In his celis[389] deus dicitur esse: tamquam obiectum notre felicitatis; gaudium[390] eterne[391] iocunditatis; thesaurus[392] plene satietatis.

Secundum hec tria anima beata secundum omne sui[393] perfectibile perficitur.[394] Sunt enim[395] tres precipue[396] perfectiones[397] beatorum:[398] visio inobfuscabilis, que succedit fidei et perficit rationalem;[399] tentio[400] inamissibilis, que succedit spei et perficit irascibilem; fruitio[401] infastidibilis,[402] que respondet caritati et satiat concupiscientialem.[403] De primo,[404] Iob vicesimo tertio:[405] *Quis michi det*[406] *ut cognoscam et inveniam illum*[407] *et veniam usque ad solium eius?* Hanc etiam perfectionem petiit Moyses cum dicebat,[408] Deuteronomii[409] trigesimo tertio: *Ostende*[410] *michi gloriam tuam*, cui *respondit* dominus:[411] *Ego ostendam tibi omne bonum*. Hec[412] est[413] perfectio rationalis Psalmi: *sicut audivimus, sic*[414] *vidimus* etc.[415] De secundo, Exodi quinto decimo: *Introduces eos et plantabis in monte*[416] *hereditatis tue* etc.[417] 'Introduces' inquam presentialiter, quantum ad spei successionem, que est futurorum, et 'plantabis' inamissibiliter quantum ad firmam et securam tentionem.[418] Unde Augustinus ultimo *De civitate dei*: Ibi vacabimus[419] et videbimus, videbimus[420] et amabimus,[421]

forth drops of each virtue by the exercise of works according to the opportunity of the time. At one time he would drip forth the myrrh of bitterness through the mortification of the flesh, according to what is written in the fifth chapter of the Song of Songs: *My hands drip with myrrh*;[34] and another time he would drip forth honeycomb of sweetness through teaching and contemplation, in keeping with the fourth chapter of the Song of Songs: *your lips drop sweetness like the honeycomb*.[35] Thus in going through the individual virtues, each virtue then would pour forth the drops of its own acts in its own time. This pouring forth is from the face of the God of Sinai and from the face of the God of Israel. Sinai is interpreted as 'my commandments' and signifies the active life, which consists in observing God's commandments. Israel, which is interpreted as 'seeing God', signifies the contemplative life. Both lives are from the face of God, from which all our dripping forth assumes its merit and progress. We say therefore *Who is in heaven*, as referring to the one who illumines our intellect, orders our affections, and cares for our progress.

In the third place *in heaven* is here able to be expounded with reference to the heavens of eternal blessedness, from the consideration of which the mind is stimulated to prayer most of all. It is set forth therefore in this opening part that God is in the heavens so that all our intention is focused on attaining those heavens as though returning to our homeland, where we would be ever mindful of our father, as Cassian said.[36] *In the heavens* is thus said in many ways on account of the various rewards, according to John 14: *In the house of my father are many mansions*.[37] In these heavens God is said to be the object of our happiness, the joy of eternal delight, and the treasure of complete satisfaction.

According to these three the blessed soul is perfected in keeping with its capacity for perfection. For there are three chief perfections of the blessed: clear vision, which is attributed to faith and perfects the rational part of the soul; ever present possession, which comes with hope and perfects the irascible parts of the soul; and steady fruition, which corresponds to love and satisfies concupiscence. Concerning the first we read in Job 23: *Is there anyone who would give me that I might know how to find it and come all the way to reach it alone?*[38] Moyses prayed for this perfection when he said in Deuteronomy 33: *Show me your glory*, to whom the Lord responded: *I will show you every thing good*.[39] This is the perfection of the rational part of the soul as in the psalm: *just as we have heard, so have we seen*,[40] etc. With regard to the second, we have Exodus 15: *Lead them in and plant them on the mount of your inheritance*,[41] etc. 'Lead them' is said in the present tense, in so far as it relates to acquiring hope, which is of future things, and 'plant' is unmistakably taken to refer to the firm and secure expectation. Thus Augustine in the last chapter of *The City of God* wrote: "There we will rest and we will see, we will see and we will love, we will

amabimus et laudabimus.[422] Ecce quod[423] erit in fine[424] sine fine, nam quis alius noster est finis nisi venire ad regnum eius[425] nullus est finis?[426] De tertio, Psalmus:[427] *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*. Hec[428] satietas est infastidibilis,[429] quia ut dicit Augustinus[430] tertio[431] libro[432] *De libero*[433] *arbitrio*, capitulo quadragesimo secundo:[434] Tanta est iocunditas lucis eterne, ut si etiam non[435] liceret in ea[436] amplius manere[437] quam[438] unius diei mora,[439] propter hoc solum innumerabiles[440] huius vite dies pleni deliciis et circumfluentia[441] temporalium bonorum[442] recte meritoque contemnerentur.[443] Dicamus ergo: *Qui es in celis*: obiectum nostre felicitatis; gaudium eterne iocunditatis; thesaurus plene satietatis.[444]

love and we will praise. Oh what will the end be that is without end, for what else is our end than to come to the kingdom of Him whose kingdom is without end?"[42] About the third we read in the psalm: *I am satisfied when your glory appears*.[43] This fulfilment is sure, because as Augustine said in the third book of *On Free Will*, in chapter 42: "So great is the joy of the eternal light, that if one were not allowed to remain in it for more than a single day, on account of this alone, uncountable days of this life filled with pleasures and the abundance of temporal goods would rightly and with merit be despised."[44] Therefore we say *Who is in heaven* as referring to the object of our happiness, the joy of eternal delight, and the treasure of complete fulfilment.[45]

Lectio tertia

Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Posito exordio sequitur tractatus,[1] in quo ordinantur petitiones, et habet septem partes secundum[2] septem petitiones que in hac oratione[3] continentur; partes de se patent.[4] Hic dubitari potest multipliciter.[5] Primo de brevitate,[6] quare hec oratio tam pauca verba complectatur.[7]

Ad quod[8] dicendum, quod eius[9] possunt assignari septem rationes: prima,[10] ut[11] citius addiscatur;[12] secunda, ut[13] melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de eius ignorantia excusetur; quarta ut frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut tedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut fiducia inpetrandi[14] cito tribuatur; septima, ut in devotione mentis, non in[15] multiplicatione verborum, virtus orationis esse[16] ostendatur.[17] Predicte rationes[18] ex dictis diversorum[19] sanctorum doctorum[20] breviter[21] sunt recollecte,[22] quorum auctoritates quedam ponentur[23] infra[24] in fine operis.[25]

Secundo, dubitatur de dissensu vel diversitate Matthei et Luce,[26] nam Mattheus ponit septem petitiones,[27] Lucas[28] tantum quinque. Unde[29] videtur[30] quod vel iste sit superfluus, vel ille[31] diminutus.[32]

Ad hoc[33] dicendum,[34] quod Lucas easdem petitiones complexus est[35] implicite, quas Mattheus ponit explicite. Tertiam enim[36] petitionem[37] scilicet *fiat*[38] *voluntas tua*, quam Mattheus[39] exprimit,[40] Lucas sub[41] duabus[42] primis intelligit,[43] quia scilicet[44] ad hoc precipue dei voluntas tendit,[45] ut eius sanctitatem cognoscamus et[46] cum ipso regnemus.[47] Similiter septima, que est *libera*[48] *nos a malo*, Lucas intelligit[49] in[50] precedenti qua dicitur,[51] *ne nos inducas in temptationem*.[52] In hoc enim aliquis liberatur a malo, quod[53] non infertur[54] in temptationem,[55] et sic non[56] est iste[57] superfluus[58] nec ille[59] diminutus, quia quod[60] iste[61] dicit explicite,[62] ille intelligit implicite.[63]

Tertio, dubitatur de numero, quare scilicet[64] he[65] omnes petitiones sub[66] septenario numero[67] comprehendantur.[68]

Ad quod dicendum, quod quia septenarius numerus[69] est numerus universitatis[70] et quoniam[71] universitas[72] omnium recte desiderabilium[73] in his petitionibus comprehenduntur[74] secundum Augustinum *Ad Probam* et ponitur[75] infra[76] in fine post Amen, et patebit ex[77] questione sequenti.[78] Ideo, rationabiliter omnes petitiones sub[79] septenario numero[80] est[81] complexus,[82] et propterea[83] quia per has[84] petitiones excluduntur[85] septem vitia capitalia et introducuntur[86] septem virtutes principales,[87] septem dona[88] spiritus sancti,

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_006

Lecture 3

Hallowed be thy name.[1] After the introduction, the treatise follows, in which the petitions are given in order. The treatise has seven parts, corresponding to the seven petitions which are contained in this prayer.[2] This division is clear, but multiple questions arise. The first concerns the prayer's brevity, namely, why is this prayer concluded with so few words?

In response it can be said that there are seven reasons: first, so that the prayer might be learned quickly; second, so that it is easily remembered; third, so that no one is excused from knowing it; fourth, so that it might be said frequently; fifth, so that bordem in saying it might be alleviated; sixth, so that trust in asking might immediately be present; and seventh, so that it might be shown that the power of the prayer is to be seen in the devotion of the mind, not in the multiplication of words.[3] These seven reasons are briefly summarized based on the words of various holy doctors, whose proof texts to this effect are placed below at the end of the work.

The second question concerns the discrepancy or the diversity between the version of the prayer in Matthew and that in Luke, for Matthew gives seven petitions whereas Luke only has five. It seems therefore that either Matthew's version is superfluous, or that Luke's is insufficient.[4]

To this question it can be said that Luke includes implicitly the same petitions that Matthew has explicitly, for the third petition, namely, *Thy will be done*, which Matthew expresses, is understood in Luke's version under the first two petitions, for God's will being done is implied when we seek to know God's holiness and when we ask that we might reign with Him. Similarly, the seventh petition, which is *Free us from evil*, Luke understands as being included implicitly in the preceeding petition when it is said, *And lead us not into temptation*, for one is freed from evil when one is not led into temptation. Thus neither is Matthew's version too extensive, nor Luke's too short, because what Matthew states explicitly, Luke includes implicitly.[5]

The third question concerns the number of petitions, namely, how all petitions are understood as included within these seven.

In answer to this question we should note that the number seven is the universal number and that the entirety of all things rightly desired is understood in these seven petitions according to Augustine in his letter *To Proba*,[6] a proof text that is placed below after the *Amen* and as will be clear in the following question. Therefore all petitions are rationally included under the number seven,[7] and hence through these petitions the seven capital vices are excluded, and the seven principle virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the seven

et[89] septem[90] beatitudines, ut patebit de singulis prosequendo,[91] conveniens ergo fuit[92] has petitiones sub septenario[93] comprehendi.

Quarto, dubitatur[94] de ordine, quare[95] sic ordinentur,[96] cum enim prius sit[97] declinare a malo et[98] deinde facere bonum, et[99] postea confirmari[100] in utroque, videtur[101] hunc pervertere ordinem.

Dicendum ad hoc quod servat[102] hic ordinem dignitatis. Dignius enim[103] est bonum confirmatum, quod petitur[104] in prima petitione; deinde est[105] bonum simpliciter,[106] quod[107] respiciunt tres immediate[108] sequentes petitiones; ultimo vero est[109] amotio[110] mali, quod[111] respiciunt ultime tres[112] petitiones.

Et quoniam, ut[113] dictum est[114] supra[115] in prologo,[116] hec preclara[117] oratio est nobis forma et regula orandi informans nos et regulans, non solum quantum[118] ad petenda,[119] sed[120] etiam[121] quantum[122] ad ordinem petendorum et desiderandorum,[123] ideo convenienter hoc ordine petitiones sunt posite.[124] Omnia enim que hic petuntur[125] eo ordine[126] desideranda sunt que[127] ponitur.[128] Primo, autem[129] cadit in[130] desiderio[131] finis,[132] deinde ea[133] que sunt[134] ad finem. Finis[135] autem noster[136] deus est,[137] in quem noster affectus[138] tendit dupliciter:[139] uno quidem modo[140] prout[141] volumus[142] gloriam deo,[143] alio modo[144] prout[145] volumus[146] frui gloria eius. Quorum[147] primum pertinet ad dilectionem, qua[148] deum in seipso diligimus; secundum[149] vero pertinet ad dilectionem qua[150] diligimus nos in deo.[151] Et ideo prima petitio[152] ponitur *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, per quam[153] petimus gloriam deo;[154] secunda[155] vero ponitur *adveniat regnum tuum*, per[156] quam petimus nos[157] ad gloriam regni[158] eius[159] pervenire.[160]

Ad finem autem predictum[161] ordinat nos aliquid[162] dupliciter: uno modo[163] per se; alio modo[164] per accidens. Per se quidem[165] bonum[166] quod est utile in finem.[167] Est autem aliquid[168] utile in finem beatitudinis[169] dupliciter: uno modo[170] directe et principaliter, secundum meritum quo beatitudinem meremur deo obediendo, et quantum ad hoc ponitur *fiat voluntas tua*; alio modo[171] instrumentaliter, et[172] quasi[173] coadiuvans nos[174] ad merendum,[175] et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur[176] *panem nostrum cottidianum*.[177] Per accidens autem ordinamur[178] in beatitudinem[179] per remotionem prohibentis. Tria[180] autem[181] sunt, que nos a beatitudine prohibent. Primo, quidem[182] peccatum, quod directe nos prohibet[183] et[184] ad hoc pertinet quod[185] dicitur *dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Secundo,[186] temptatio, que nos impedit ab observantia[187] divine[188]

Beatitudes are included,[8] as will be clear in the individual petitions as we proceed. It is therefore fitting that the petitions of this prayer are understood to be seven in number.

The fourth question concerns the order of the petitions, namely why they are thus ordered, for it would seem that we should first ask to refrain from doing evil and only then to do good, and afterwards ask to be confirmed in both, which would seem to invert the order here given.[9]

In answer to this question we should note that the order of the petitions given in the prayer follows the order of dignity. Thus it is of greater dignity that good is confirmed first, which is sought in the first petition, and then the good itself, which is sought with respect to the three immediately following petitions, and then finally that evil is removed, which concerns the last three petitions, than the order posited by the question.[10]

And since, as stated above in the Prologue, this most well-known prayer is the form and rule of prayer for us, informing and regulating us not only with respect to that which is to be sought, but also with respect to the order of our asking and desiring, therefore it is fitting that the petitions are placed in the order given, for all things that are here asked for should be desired in the order here given.[11] For our desire concerns in the first place the desire for the end,[12] and only then for those things that lead to the end. Our end though is God, towards whom our affections move in a two-fold manner: first, we will glory for God, and second, we will enjoy God's glory. The first of these two pertains to the love by which we love God in Himself, whereas the second pertains to the love by which we love ourselves in God. Thus the first petition, *Hallowed be Thy Name*, through which we seek glory for God, comes before then the second, *Thy Kingdom Come*, through which we seek that we might attain to the glory of God's reign.[13]

To the above mentioned end something orders[14] us in a two-fold way: one way is in and of itself; the other way is through external factors. The Good certainly is useful in and of itself to lead us to our end. Something though is useful in and of itself for leading us to the end of blessedness in a two-fold way: one way directly and principally, according to the merit by which we merit blessedness by obeying God, and thus the petition: *Thy Will Be Done*; and the other way we are led to the end of blessedness is instrumentally, as if helping us to merit, and thus the petition is given *Our Daily Bread*. The external factors, however ordering us to our end, that is, blessedness, are the removal of those things that would prevent us from reaching our end. There are three things which impede us from reaching our end. First, certainly, is sin, which directly impedes us from reaching our end and thus we pray *Forgive us our debts*. Second is temptation, which impedes us from observing the divine will, and

voluntatis,[189] et[190] ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*.[191] Tertio,[192] penalitas presens, que impedit sufficientiam vite[193] et quantum ad hoc dicitur[194] *libera nos a malo*. Ex his patet[195] ordinis congruentia et petitionum sufficientia et nichilominus totalis divisio harum petitionum in suas partes et sic[196] patet ad obiectum.[197]

Prima ergo petitio est *sanctificetur nomen tuum*.[198] Circa quam[199] prima facie[200] dubitaret aliquis quia[201] vanum videtur petere illud quod semper[202] est, sed[203] nomen dei semper est sanctum,[204] iuxta illud[205] Luce primo:[206] *Et*[207] *sanctum*[208] *nomen eius*,[209] quare[210] etc.[211]

Responsio:[212] sic[213] dicit Augustinus in libro[214] *De*[215] *sermone domini*[216] *in monte*: Non[217] hoc[218] petitur quasi non sit sanctum nomen dei,[219] sed ut sanctum ab hominibus habeatur.[220] Unde hec locutio similis est illo[221] in Psalmo:[222] *Notus in Iudea deus in*[223] *Israel magnum nomen eius*. Non[224] ideo nomen dei dicitur magnum[225] in Israel,[226] quasi intelligatur[227] quod[228] deus[229] alibi maior sit[230] alibi[231] minor, sed ibi nomen dei dicitur magnum, ubi[232] deus magnus agnoscitur. Similiter[233] ibi sanctum nomen dei[234] dicitur,[235] ubi deus sanctus agnoscitur.[236] Sed dices[237] ergo[238] secundum hoc hec[239] prima[240] petitio non respicit[241] gloriam[242] dei in se, sed per respectum ad nos quod est contradicta,[243] dicendum quod hec[244] idem,[245] quod est nomen dei[246] sanctum[247] agnoscere pertinet ad gloriam dei in hominibus propagandam,[248] sic quod gloriam dei peterimus[249] in nobis non principaliter sed[250] propter nostram utilitatem,[251] sed in hoc attendimus[252] principaliter gloriam dei. Unde Chrysostomus[253] in[254] homelia: *sanctificetur nomen tuum*[255] hoc[256] idem est quod glorificetur, ac si[257] dicat, ita fac nos pure[258] vivere,[259] ut per nos[260] universi te glorificent.

Est autem[261] notandum quod nomen dei[262] tribus modis accipitur[263] ad presens,[264] cui correspondet triplex sanctificatio sumpta ex triplici ethymologia sanctitatis. Primo modo,[265] dicitur 'nomen dei' mysterium nostre redemptionis, et sic sumitur Isaie nono:[266] *vocabitur*[267] *nomen eius admirabilis, consiliarius, deus fortis, pater futuri seculi, princeps pacis*.[268] 'Admirabilis'[269] inquam[270] incarnatione,[271] que erat omnium mirabiliorum mirabilissimum;[272] 'consiliarius' in predicatione; 'deus'[273] in miraculorum operatione;[274] 'fortis' in passione;[275] 'pater futuri seculi' in resurrectione; 'princeps pacis' in ascensione.[276] Ista[277] ergo sacramentalis complexio[278] nostre redemptionis vocatur nomen. Hoc nomen in nobis sanctificari petimus, ut fructum redemptionis[279] in

thus we pray *And lead us not into temptation*. Third, the present harshness of life prevents us from reaching our end because it undermines the sufficiency of life, and thus we pray *Deliver us from evil*.[15] Thus both the fittingness of the order of the petitions and the sufficiency of the petitions regarding their number and what they include is clear and adequately responds to the questions as posed above.

The first petition therefore is *Hallowed Be Thy Name*. With regard to this petition one could question the need, for it seems that asking for that which always is, is to ask in vain; the name of God, though, is always holy, according to Luke 1: *And his name is holy*.[16] Therefore seeking that God's name be holy is not needed.

The following response can be given: as Augustine said in his book *On the Sermon on the Mount*: "Here it is not sought as if the name of God is not holy, but that it might be held as holy by humans."[17] Wherefore this statement is similar to the one in the Psalms: *God is known in Judea, his name is great in Israel*.[18] Therefore the name of God is not said to be great in Israel as if it were understood that God is greater in one place than in another, but the name of God is said to be great where God is recognized as being great. Similarly, the name of God is said to be holy where God is considered as being holy.[19] But you might say therefore in this light that this first petition does not concern the glory of God in itself, but with respect to us, which is contradictory. To this it should be said that recognizing the name of God as being holy pertains to the glory of God propagated in humans.[20] Thus we do not seek the glory of God in us first and foremost on account of our utility, but rather we are concerned principally with the glory of God as such. Wherefore Chrysostom stated in a homily: "*Holy Be Thy Name*: this is the same as asking that the name of God be glorified, even if we were to say 'make us live purely so that through us all things might glorify you'."[21]

It should be noted that for present concerns the name of God is considered in a three-fold way, to which corresponds a three-fold sanctification, arising from the three-fold etymology of the word 'holiness'. In the first way, the 'name of God' is said to be the mystery of our redemption, and thus it is taken in Isaiah 9: *His name is called admirable, counselor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace*.[22] God's name is 'admirable' by his incarnation, which was the most miraculous of all miracles. God's name is called 'counselor' in preaching; 'God' in the workings of miracles; 'mighty' in his passion; 'everlasting father' in his resurrection; and 'prince of peace' in his ascention. Therefore the name of God is called the sacramental complex of our redemption. This name we seek to be made holy in us, so that we might feel the fruit of our redemption in us, so that we might truly be holy, as if dipped in blood.[23] Such are those

nobis[280] sentiamus, ut sic[281] vere[282] simus sancti, quasi[283] sanguine tincti. Qua-
105 les[284] sunt illi de quibus dicitur Apocalypsis septimo: *Isti sunt*[285] *qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni*.[286] Et Apocalypsis primo: *Lavit nos*[287] *in sanguine suo a peccatis nostris*. Et[288] sic est sensus[289] *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, id est,[290] fructificet in nobis redemptio tua.

Secundo modo,[291] 'nomen dei' dicitur privilegium filialis[292] adoptionis,[293] et
110 in hoc sensu specialiter accipitur[294] hic.[295] Istud nomen tunc sanctificatur[296] in nobis, quoniam[297] sicut nomine dicimur filii dei,[298] ita sumus[299] et re,[300] et sic dicimur 'sancti',[301] quasi sine terra, id est, terrenis affectibus exuti.[302] 'Sanctus' enim[303] Latine, 'agios' dicitur Grece, quod dicitur ab 'a', quod est sine et 'geos',[304] terra, quasi sine terra. Et hoc est[305] proprium[306] filiorum dei, ut
115 qui[307] patrem habent[308] in celis affectu[309] non ambulent[310] in terris. Et hoc est quod dicit dominus per[311] prophetam: *Sancti estote quoniam*[312] *ego*[313] *sanctus sum*.[314] Et hoc modo est sensus[315] *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, id est, immaculata conservetur[316] in nobis[317] filiatio tua, ut vere simus filii tui,[318] quorum tu[319] pater esse dignaris.[320]

120 Tertio modo, dicitur 'nomen dei' preconium divini[321] honoris et glorificationis. Et[322] sic accipitur in Psalmo:[323] *secundum nomen tuum deus ita*[324] *et laus tua in fines terre*.[325] Hoc nomen sanctificatur[326] in nobis quoniam[327] deus iugiter in nobis[328] et a[329] nobis honoratur et glorificatur.[330] Et secundum hoc dicimur 'sancti', quasi 'sanxiti',[331] id est firmati,[332] ut a laude dei numquam
125 cessemus.[333] Et tunc[334] erit[335] sensus *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, id est firmetur ita[336] in nobis gloria[337] et honor tuus,[338] ut[339] semper te[340] glorificemus.

Et hec tertia ethymologia sanctificationis[341] posset[342] etiam referri ad duas primas[343] acceptiones[344] nominis, ut[345] diceretur secundum primum modum[346] sic:[347] *sanctifictur nomen tuum*, id est firmetur[348] in nobis redemp-
130 tio tua, ut eius fructum numquam amittamus;[349] secundum[350] modum sic:[351] *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, id est, firmetur in nobis filiatio tua, ut esse filii tui numquam[352] desistamus.

Dicamus ergo, *sanctificetur nomen tuum*:[353] quod est[354] mysterium nostre redemptionis; privilegium filialis adoptionis; preconium tue glorificationis.
135 Ratione primi, illud sanctissimum[355] nomen vocatur 'Iesus', id est, salvator, Matthei[356] secundo:[357] *vocabis*[358] *nomen eius Iesum. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum*.[359] Ratione secundi, vocatur 'pater', ut hic[360] et[361] Matthei vicesimo tertio:[362] *Unus est*[363] *pater vester qui* etc.[364] Ratione tertii, vocatur 'Christus', id est unctus, quia rex,[365] Matthei[366] primo: *de qua natus*
140 *est Ihesus, qui vocatur Christus*. Hoc inquam[367] triplex nomen sanctificetur[368]

about whom it is written in the seventh chapter of the Apocalyse: *Those are the ones who have come from great tribulation and have washed their cloakes in the blood of the lamb*.[24] And in Apocalypse 1: *He washes us from our sins with his own blood*.[25] And thus is the sense of *Holy Be Thy Name*, namely, that God's redemption might come to fruition in us.

In the second way, the name of God is said to be the privilege of filial adoption, and it is specially received in this sense here. That name then is sanctified in us, since just as we are called sons of God in name, thus we are in reality, and thus we are said to be 'saints', as if not of the world, that is, having been removed from earthly affections. The word 'saint' in Latin is 'sanctus' and in Greek it is 'agios', which is comprised of two parts: 'without' and 'world' or 'earth', thus being holy is being as if 'without the earth'.[26] And this is the proper name of the sons of God, as they have their father who is in heaven and they live their lives on earth with detachment. And this is what the Lord said through the prophet: *Be holy for I am holy*.[27] And in this way we find the meaning of *Holy Be Thy Name*, that is God's sonship is preserved purely in us, so that we might truly be God's sons, since God has deemed it worthy to be our Father.

In the third way, the name of God is said to be the reward of divine honor and glorification, and thus it is taken in the Psalm: *in keeping with your name, God, your praise reaches to the ends of the earth*.[28] This name is sanctified in us since God is joined to us and is honored and glorified by us. Accordingly we are said to be 'holy', as if stamped and sealed, that is, confirmed, so that we might never cease from the praise of God.[29] And thus the meaning of *Holy Be Thy Name* will be that God's glory and honor is so confirmed in us that we will always glorify God.

This third etymology of 'sanctification' can be referred to the first two understandings of the name of God, for as we would say *Holy Be Thy Name* according to the first way of understanding the name of God in the sense that God's redemption might be confirmed in us so that we might never lose God's fruits, in the second way of understanding we say *Holy Be Thy Name* so that God's filiation might be so confirmed in us that we might never cease to be God's sons.[30]

Therefore when we pray *Holy Be Thy Name* we do so as the mystery of our redemption, the privilege of filial adoption, and the reward of God's glorification. In the first meaning of the name of God, that most holy name is called 'Jesus', that is savior, as in Matthew 2: *You will call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins*.[31] In the second meaning the name of God is 'Father', as here in Matthew 23: *You have one Father*,[32] etc. And in the third meaning, the name of God is 'Christ', that is the annointed one as a king, as in Matthew 1: *from Mary Jesus was born who is called the Christ*.[33] We pray for this three-fold

in nobis[369] per benevolentiam in corde; per[370] reverentiam in ore;[371] per[372] efficaciam in opere, ut sit nobis[373] iubilus in corde; mel in ore; exemplar[374] in opere, secundum Bernardum.[375]

Per hanc autem[376] petitionem primam excluditur primum vitium, quod est superbia. Superbia[377] enim tria mala[378] facit sanctificationi trinitatis[379] nominis predicti contraria.[380] Nam[381] ipsa, meritum Christi evacuat,[382] contra primum;[383] diaboli[384] filios generat,[385] contra secundum;[386] deum blasphemat,[387] contra tertium.[388]

De primo, Ieremie tertio decimo:[389] *Sic computrescere faciam superbiam Iuda et superbiam*[390] *Hierusalem multam*,[391] sicut videlicet lumbare vide visionem.[392] Moraliter lumbare,[393] illud[394] quod absconditum erat[395] *in foramine petre* iuxta Eufratem ubi computruerat, signat[396] humanam naturam, vel quemlibet hominem[397] christianum, qui[398] sicut lumbare[399] lumbis, sic Christo[400] per meritum passionis est[401] coniunctus. Unde subditur ibidem:[402] *sicut lumbare adheret*[403] *ad*[404] *lumbos viri, sic adglutinavi*[405] *michi*[406] *omnem domum*[407] *Israel*[408] *et Iuda*.[409] Hoc lumbare[410] iuxta Eufratem in foramine petre tunc absconditur, quando homo induritia mentis per superbiam a deo avertitur[411] et ab[412] aspectu divine gratie occultatur. 'Eufrates'[413] vero[414] interpretatur pulverulentus[415] et signat[416] hominem superbum, qui ad modum pulveris[417] a vento elationis[418] rapitur et agitatur.[419] 'Foramine[420] petre' est cor mundanum[421] superbia induratum. Istud[422] igitur[423] 'lumbare' tunc[424] dominus[425] computrescere[426] facit quoniam[427] talem hominem velud pretio sui sanguinis expertem[428] in peccatis perseverare permittit. De secundo[429] Iob quadragesimo primo:[430] *ipse est*[431] *rex super omnes filios superbie*. Unde[432] quibusdam dicitur[433] Iohannis tercio decimo:[434] *vos ex patre vestro*[435] *diabolo estis*. De tertio, Sophonie secundo[436] dicitur de[437] quibusdam[438] quod superbia sua[439] blasphemaverunt[440] deum,[441] et[442] Ieremie tertio,[443] dicitur verbis superbis[444] blasphemasti.[445] Hec tria mala[446] superbie contrariantur sanctificationi[447] triplicis nominis dei predicti, ut de se patet[448] propter quod bene[449] dicitur[450] per[451] hanc petitionem hoc vitium excludi.[452]

Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus[453] fides, que est prima virtus theologica.[454] Habet enim fides[455] tres effectus correspondentes sanctificationi[456] triplicis[457] nominis dei[458] predicti, per fidem enim in sanguine Christi abluimur,[459] quantum[460] ad primum;[461] vere filii dei efficimur, quantum[462] ad secundum;[463] gloriam dei prosequimur,[464] quantum[465] ad tertium.[466]

De primo, Romanorum[467] tertio:[468] *iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius per*[469] *redemptionem que est in Christo Ihesu, quem proposuit*[470] *deus propitiationem*[471] *per fidem in sanguine ipsius*. De secundo, Iohannis primo: *dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri hiis qui credunt in nomine eius*.[472] De tertio, ad Hebreos

name to be sanctified in us through benevolence in our hearts; through reverence in our speech, and through efficaciousness in our works, so that joy might be in our hearts, sweetness in our words, and exemplary actions in our works, according to Bernard.[34]

In this first petition, the first vice is excluded, which is pride, for pride works three evils contrary to the sanctification of the three-fold name as explained, for pride does away with the merit of Christ, against the first; generates sons of the devil, against the second; and blasphemes God, against the third.

Regarding the first, we read in Jeremiah 13: *Thus Juda has putrified its face with pride and Jerusalem with much pride*,[35] namely, just as the loin cloth that was hidden. Morally understood: the loin cloth that was hidden in the cave next to the Euphrates[36] where it rotted signifies human nature, or any Christian, who is joined to Christ just as a loin cloth to the loins, through the merit of Christ's passion. Thus it is added: *just as a loin cloth adheres to one's loins, so have I clung to myself the entire house of Israel and Juda*.[37] This loin cloth in the cave next to the Euphrates is hidden when a man turns away from God through the stubbornness of his mind from pride and hides himself from the gaze of divine grace. The river Euphrates is interpreted as dust and ashes and signifies human pride, which as dust and ashes is taken up and tossed around by the wind of elation. The cave is the mundane heart hardened by pride. The Lord, therefore, makes that loin cloth to rot since the Lord permits such a man to remain in his own sin as if having experienced the cost of his own blood. Concerning the second, we read in Job 41: *He himself is king over all the sons of pride*.[38] Wherefore Christ said to those in John 13: *You are from your father, the devil*.[39] Regarding the third, the second chapter of Zephaniah speaks about those who with their own pride blaspheme God,[40] and in Jeremiah 3 it is written: you blaspheme with prideful words.[41]

This first petition, however, introduces the virtue faith, which is the first theological virtue, for faith has three effects corresponding to the three-fold sanctification of the name of God as here discussed, for through faith we are washed in the blood of Christ, with respect to the first; we are truly made sons of God according to the second; and we tend towards God's glory with respect to the third.

Concerning the first, we read in Romans 3: *all who are justified are justified freely through the grace of God's redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth to make propitiation through his blood*.[42] Regarding the second we have John 1: *He gave the power to become sons of God to those who believe in his name*.[43] And for the third, the words of the Apostle throughout Hebrews 11

undecimo[473] per totum verbi[474] apostolus[475] magnifica gesta antiquorum[476] patrum commemorat,[477] que omnia ad dei gloriam fide dicit operata.

Introducitur etiam per hanc petitionem donum sapientie, quia[478] dicit Glossa super Mattheum dicendo[479] *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, spiritum sapientie[480] postulamus, ne a[481] sanctificatione nominis[482] in aliquo[483] discrepemus,[484] sed[485] patris nomen in nobis tamquam in filiis vita et moribus ostendamus.[486] Est autem sapientia proprie[487] ut pro dono[488] sumitur[489] cognitio suavitatis[490] divine[491] per experientiam[492] habita.[493] Unde dicta[494] est[495] sapientia, quasi sapida scientia, cognitio autem et experientia[496] suavitatis divine habetur ex sanctificatione triplicis[497] nominis predicti. Surgit[498] enim mentis suavitas in nobis ad presens ex tribus:[499] ex passionis[500] Christi devota meditatione;[501] ex[502] dilectionis dei erga[503] nos memoratione;[504] ex[505] divine laudis iugi[506] modulatione.

De primo, Ecclesiastici vicesimo quarto[507] dicit[508] sapientia increata: quasi murra electa dedi suavitatem odoris. Christus enim in passione comparatur murre, propter mortis[509] amaritudinem et penarum[510] acerbitatem. Et licet sibi passio[511] fuerit amara, nobis tamen dat suavitatem odoris pro quanto[512] mens spiritualibus delectationibus reficitur, que[513] de ea devote[514] meditatur.

De secundo dicit[515] Hugo,[516] *De arra anime*: dulcedo vite mee et lumen oculorum meorum, *Quid retribuam tibi pro omnibus*[517] *que retribuisti michi?* de quibus est[518] michi dulce[519] cogitare, semper loqui, semper gratias agere ut te laudem et amem,[520] et subdit: Certe michi videtur cum eius miserationes circa me attendo, quod, si fas est dicere quodammodo[521] nichil aliud[522] agat[523] deus[524] nisi ut mee saluti[525] provideat.[526] Etsi[527] memoria[528] quorumlibet[529] divinorum beneficiorum homini[530] dulcis sit, maxime tamen beneficium filiationis,[531] quod ipse sit pie nos,[532] nos[533] tamquam filios prosequitur atque fovet.[534] Unde scribitur[535] Sapientie decimo sexto,[536] de sapientia increata: *dulcedinem tuam quam in*[537] *filios habes ostendisti*.[538]

De tertio dicit sponsus[539] sapientia increata, Canticorum secundo: *sonet*[540] *vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua dulcis*.[541] Vox enim anime[542] in modulatione laudis divine dulcis est et ipsi deo audienti et anime[543] promenti ad hanc dulcedinem et suavitatem invitat[544] sapientia increata, Proverbiorum vicesimo quarto: *comede fili*[545] *mel quia bonum est et favum dulcissimum gutturi tuo, sic et*[546] *doctrina sapientie anime tue*.

Introducitur nichilominus[547] beatitudo pacis de qua[548] dicitur Matthei quinto:[549] *Beati pacifici*,[550] que[551] secundum Augustinum adaptatur[552] dono

commemorate the magnificent deeds of the ancient fathers, all of which he said were done in faith to the glory of God.[44]

Through this petition the gift of wisdom is introduced, for as the Gloss on Matthew says, in speaking the words *Holy Be Thy Name*, we ask for the spirit of wisdom, lest we fall away in some way from the sanctification of his name, but we show the name 'Father' in us as sons, in our lives and characters.[45] Wisdom, however, is fittingly taken as the knowledge of divine sweetness which we have through experience, and is received as a gift. Wherefore it is called wisdom, as a wise knowledge, and the knowing and experience of divine sweetness comes from the sanctification of the three-fold name as we have been explaining here. For the sweetness of the mind arises in us in our current state from three things: from devout meditation on the Passion of Christ; from remembering God's love for us; and from being ever involved in praising the divine.[46]

Concerning the first, we read in Ecclesiasticus 24 that uncreated wisdom said: *I gave the sweetness of smell to the chosen myrrh*,[47] for Christ in his Passion is compared to myrrh on account of the bitterness of death and the anguish of punishment, and although his Passion was for him bitter, nevertheless for us it provides the sweetness of smell as often as one is restored with spiritual delights and devoutly meditates on them.

Regarding the second, Hugh of St. Victor, in his treatise *On the pledge of the soul* said: "the sweetness of my life and the light of my eyes, *What can I pay back to you for all you have given to me?*,[48] which for me is to have sweet thoughts and to always speak and to always give thanks so that I might praise and love you."[49] And then a bit later Hugh added: "Certainly it seems to me that when I pay attention to the miseries of life that it is only right to say that in a certain way God does nothing except to provide for my salvation."[50] While remembering any divine benefit is sweet to man, the greatest benefit of all is the benefit of becoming a son of God, which is for us right and leads us to becoming sons and supports us in the process. Wherefore it is written in Wisdom of Solomon 16 concerning uncreated wisdom: *you have shown your sweetness which you have toward your sons*.[51]

With respect to the third, the wife in the second chapter of the Song of Songs said: with uncreated wisdom *your voice sounds in my ears for your voice is sweet*.[52] The voice of the soul is sweet in its modulation of divine praise and uncreated wisdom invites the approved soul to this charm and sweetness in listening to God Himself. Thus in Proverbs 24 we read: *eat my son honey for it is good and you will taste its sweetness, thus also the teaching of wisdom for your soul*.[53]

In this petition is introduced as well the beatitude of peace, about which Matthew 5 says: *Blessed are the peace-makers*,[54] which according to Augustine

sapientie. Dicit enim quendam statum virtutis, in quo[553] est[554] delectatio[555] in deo sine[556] contradictione carnis, mundi et diaboli, vel[557] si est[558] aliqua, inefficax est[559] in hoc statu quiete[560] et sine repugnantia,[561] nomen dei in nobis sanctificatur.[562] Includit enim hec beatitudo triplicem significationem[563] triplicis[564] nominis dei,[565] secundum tres eius effectus. Pax enim[566] animam redimit; filios dei efficit; honorem deo tribuit. Primo,[567] inquam,[568] animam redimit[569] vel potius redemptam ostendit. Unde Psalmus:[570] *Redimet in pace animam meam*, et sic[571] pax[572] est effectus nostre redemptionis in quantum per[573] redemptionem sumus in pace positi. Aliter pax potest esse[574] causa redemptionis[575] in quantum per pacem meremur esse participes redemptionis, et talem pacem non habent impii, iuxta illud Isaie quadragesimo septimo:[576] *non est pax impiis dicit dominus*. Secundo,[577] etiam[578] pax filios dei efficit,[579] Matthei[580] quinto: *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii dei vocabuntur*.[581] Et[582] merito quia faciunt officium[583] filii dei, qui[584] ad hoc venit in mundum ut pacem faceret inter deum et hominem, quod officium gerunt[585] pacifici in seipsis et[586] aliis pacem facientes. Tertio,[587] pax gloriam[588] deo[589] tribuit. Unde dicit[590] Apostolus Colossensium tertio:[591] *et*[592] *pax dei exultet in cordibus vestris*,[593] et sequitur ad propositum, *commonentes nosmetipsos*[594] *in psalmis et*[595] *hymnis et canticis*[596] *spiritualibus in gratia cantantes*[597] *in cordibus vestris deo*.[598]

Introducuntur propterea[599] per hanc petitionem duo fructus, scilicet fides[600] et pax, quorum[601] adaptatio patet ex dictis. Qualiter autem differenter[602] fides[603] est virtus et[604] fructus, et similiter[605] pax[606] est[607] virtus, beatitudo[608] et fructus,[609] haberi potest ex his que habentur[610] in fine ultime petitionis infra[611] ante Amen, sed hic[612] supponatur ad presens.[613]

goes along with the gift of wisdom, for he said that wisdom is a certain state of virtue, in which there is delight in God without the contradiction of the flesh, the world, and the devil, or if there is anything thereof therein it is without effect.[55] In this quiet state without anything fighting against it the name of God is sanctified in us, for this beatitude includes the triple signification of the three-fold name of God according to its three effects, for peace redeems the soul, makes sons of God, and gives honor to God. In the first place, I say that peace redeems the soul, or more powerfully shows forth our redemption. Wherefore the Psalms: *He redeems my soul in peace*.[56] And thus peace is the effect of our redemption in so far as through redemption we are placed in peace. In other words, peace is able to be the cause of our redemption in so far as through peace we merit to participate in redemption, and such peace the impious do not have, according to Isaiah 47: *there is no peace for the wicked says the Lord*.[57] Secondly, peace also makes sons of God, as seen in Matthew 5: *Blessed are the peace-makers, for they will be called sons of God*,[58] and with good reason for the sons of God fulfill the task given them by Christ, who came into this world to make peace between God and man, whereby the peace-makers fulfill this task by making peace between themselves and others. Thirdly, peace gives glory to God. Wherefore the Apostle said in Colossians 3: *and may the peace of God rejoice in your hearts*, which is followed even more pertinently when he states: *commending us in grace to sing in our hearts psalms and hymns and spiritual songs to God*.[59]

Therefore two fruits are introduced through this petition, namely, faith and peace, which is clearly appropriate.[60] How, however, faith as a virtue differs from faith as a fruit, and similarly with respect to peace as a virtue, as a beatitude, and as a fruit, is able to be understood from those passages that you can read below at the end of the last petition before the *Amen*, but this suffices for now.

Lectio quarta

Adveniat regnum tuum. Hec est secunda petitio que[1] convenienter sequitur primam, ut[2] post adoptionem filiorum petamus[3] regnum quod filiis[4] debetur. Sed[5] hic incidit[6] duplex dubitatio. Prima[7] est quia[8] vanum videtur[9] petere advenire regnum eius,[10] qui semper regnat; sed regnum dei semper est, quare etc.[11]

Dicendum[12] quod, non est intelligendum quod hic[13] petamus ut[14] regnum deo[15] adveniat,[16] quasi ipse iam non regnet, sed[17] quod nobis adveniat.[18] Unde[19] Augustinus *Ad Probam*:[20] regnum dei adveniat[21] sive velimus sive nolimus,[22] sed desiderium nostrum ad illud excitamus, ut nobis veniat[23] atque in eo[24] regnemus. Est[25] ergo sensus[26] 'adveniat'[27] id est, ad nos veniat[28] regnum tuum.

Secunda dubitatio est quare non dicit, 'veniamus ad regnum tuum',[29] quod tamen videretur[30] convenientius,[31] quia potius[32] nos venimus[33] ad regnum[34] quam[35] regnum[36] ad nos.

Ad hoc dicendum[37] quod nos ad deum[38] venire non possumus[39] nisi prius deus veniat ad nos, secundum illud[40] Iohannis: *Nemo venit ad me*[41] *nisi pater meus traxerit illum*.[42] Et ideo[43] quia[44] venire ad regnum[45] non est in nostra potestate sed ex divina gratia et voluntate,[46] ideo potius[47] petimus[48] regnum dei venire[49] ad nos[50] quam nos[51] venire ad regnum.[52]

Notandum autem[53] quod regnum dei triplex est. Primum regnum[54] dicitur[55] esse[56] ecclesia militans, de quo[57] Matthei tertio decimo:[58] *Mittet filius hominis angelos suos et*[59] *colligent*[60] *de regno eius omnia scandala*. Super quo verbo[61] Gregorius: regnum celorum presentis temporis ecclesia dicitur.[62] Secundum regnum dei est in[63] anima, quod[64] est regnum gratie, de quo[65] Luce septimo decimo: *Regnum dei*[66] *intra vos*[67] *est*. Et hoc est quando omnes vires et motus in homine divine gubernationi[68] obediunt,[69] secus quando ibi est rebellio.[70] Tertium regnum dei[71] est[72] in[73] vita eterna, quod est[74] regnum glorie, de quo Matthei vicesimo quinto: *venite benedicti patris mei*[75] *percipite*[76] *regnum*[77] etc.[78]

Huic autem[79] triplici regno dei[80] opponitur triplex regnum diaboli. Primum est[81] regnum synagoge satane,[82] quod opponitur regno ecclesie. De hoc regno[83] dicitur Apocalypsis secundo de quibusdam quod[84] sunt synagoga satane. Sicut enim[85] ecclesia est congregatio Christifidelium[86] in bono,[87] sic[88] synagoga satane est[89] congregatio diaboli in malo[90] et suorum.[91] Secundum est regnum

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_007

Lecture 4

Thy Kingdom Come.[1] This is the second petition, which conveniently follows the first, so that after we seek to be adopted as sons of God, we seek the kingdom that is due to sons.[2] But this can be questioned in two ways. First is that it seems in vain to ask for the kingdom to come of him who always reigns, but the reign of God always is, wherefore we seek it in vain.[3]

To this it should be said that it is not to be understood that we seek here that the kingdom might come to God, as if God does not already reign, but that it might come to us.[4] Wherefore Augustine wrote *To Proba*: the kingdom of God comes whether we will it or not, but we must arouse our desire for the coming of God's kingdom so that it might come to us and that we might reign in it.[5] Therefore the meaning of 'come' is that God's kingdom might come to us.[6]

The second question is why we do not pray, 'may we come to your kingdom'? This would seem more fitting because there is a better claim for us to pray that we might come to the kingdom than there is for us to pray that the kingdom might come to us.

To this it should be said that we are not able to come to God unless God first comes to us, in keeping with the Gospel of John: *No one comes to me unles my father draws him*.[7] And therefore, because to come to the kingdom is not in our power but comes from divine grace and will, we more rightly seek the kingdom of God to come to us than that we might come to the kingdom.

It should be noted, however, that the kingdom of God is understood in three ways. First, God's kingdom is said to be the Church militant, concerning which we read in Matthew 13: *The son of man will send his angels and they will gather together from his reign all scandals*,[8] about which verse Gregory the Great said: the kingdom of heaven is called the Church of this present time.[9] Second, the kingdom of God is in our souls, because the kingdom of God is the kingdom of grace, about which Luke 17 states: *The kingdom of God is within you*.[10] And this is when all the powers and impulses in man obey divine governance, for when they do not, there is rebellion. Third, the kingdom of God is in eternal life, which is the reign of glory, as stated in Matthew 25: *Come beloved of my father and receive the kingdom*, etc.[11]

To this three-fold kingdom of God is opposed the three-fold kingdom of the Devil, for first is the kingdom of Satan's synagogue, which is opposed to the reign of the Church. The second chapter of the Apocalypse speaks to this reign in talking about those who are the synagogue of Satan,[12] for just as the Church is the congregation of the faithful in Christ established in good, so is the synagogue of Satan the congregation of the Devil established in evil and

peccati, de quo[92] Romanorum[93] sexto: *Non regnet peccatum in vestro*[94] *mortali corpore*. Et istud[95] opponitur regno gratie, nam sicut deus in anima regnat per gratiam, sic[96] diabolus per peccatum. Unde Romanorum[97] quinto dicit Apostolus: *sicut regnavit peccatum in*[98] *mortem, ita et gratia regnet*[99] *per iustitiam*.[100] Tertium regnum diaboli est regnum miserie et damnationis eterne, quod opponitur regno glorie. De[101] hoc[102] regno[103] dicitur Apocalypsis sexto decimo:[104] *Quintus angelus effudit phialam suam super sedem bestie et factum est regnum eius tenebrosum*. Iste angelus est filius dei, qui est magni consilii angelus; bestia[105] est diabolus, cuius sedes est infernus; phiala super bestiam et eius sedem[106] effusa, est sententia[107] divine iustitie, puta[108] damnationis extreme.[109] Phiala enim habet orificium artum et longum, sed ventrem largum,[110] propter quod[111] est magne capacitatis sed[112] tarde effusionis. Sic deus diu tollerat et[113] exspectat in effundendo iram suam et sententiam extremam, sed finaliter eam plene effundit.[114] De hac[115] effusione dicit[116] Psalmus:[117] *Effunde domine*[118] *iram tuam in gentes que te non noverunt*. Unde deus se habet adinstar molendenarii, qui diu aquas congregat[119] et deinde[120] cum[121] impetu[122] dimittit.[123]

Cum ergo[124] dicimus, *adveniat regnum tuum*, petimus ut adveniat triplex[125] regnum dei[126] et[127] per oppositum destruatur triplex regnum diaboli. De primis duobus dicit[128] Hieronymus: Generaliter pro totius mundi petimus regno,[129] ut diabolus in mundo regnare desistat, quantum ad primum, vel ut[130] in unoquoque[131] regnet deus, scilicet[132] per gratiam, et non regnet peccatum in mortali hominum[133] corpore.[134] De tertio dicit Cyprianus in libro *De oratione dominica*: Regnum nostrum[135] petimus advenire a deo nobis repromissum,[136] et[137] Christi sanguine acquisitum, ut quoniam[138] in[139] seculo ante servivimus[140] Christo dominante regnemus. Dicamus ergo,[141] *Adveniat regnum tuum* ecclesie; gratie;[142] glorie; ut[143] destruatur[144] regnum synagoge satane; peccati et malitie; tenebrarum et miserie. Et[145] sciendum quod in hac ultima combinatione, non petimus ita destrui[146] regnum tenebrarum ne diabolus ibi sit, sed ne ipse ibi habeat regnare super nos, id est,[147] ne nos illuc veniamus in regnum suum. Ipse enim regnat[148] super omnes damnatos, iuxta illud[149] Iob quadragesimo primo:[150] *Ipse*[151] *est rex super omnes filios superbie*.

Per hanc petitionem[152] excluditur avaritia.[153] Avari enim[154] non regnum celi,[155] sed regnum terre[156] querunt.[157] Contrariatur autem avaritia triplici regno dei et conformatur triplici regno diaboli. Quod enim[158] contrarietur primo regno dei et conformetur primo regno diaboli,[159] plane dicit Apostolus Ephesiorum[160] quinto[161] ubi dicit[162] quod avaritia *est idolorum servitus*. Sed constat

self-concern. Second, the kingdom of sin is opposed to the kingdom of God, as we read in Romans 6: *let sin not reign in your mortal body*.[13] This reign of sin is opposed to the reign of grace, for just as God reigns in the soul through grace, so does the Devil through sin. Wherefore the Apostle said in Romans 5: *just as sin reigns in death, so grace reigns through righteousness*.[14] The third kingdom of the Devil is the reign of eternal misery and damnation, which is opposed to the reign of glory, about which we read in Apocalypse 16: *The fifth angel poured out its phial on the seat of the beast and thus his kingdom was made darkness*.[15] That angel is the son of God who is an angel of great council; the beast is the Devil, whose seat is hell; the phial poured out on the beast and his seat is the judgment of divine justice, namely, thorough damnation. A phial has a narrow and long opening and a large container so that it has a great capacity but is poured out slowly. Thus God is tolerant for a long time and is slow to pour forth his wrath in extreme judgment, but finally completely empties his phial of wrath. Concerning this pouring out of wrath and judgment we read in the Psalms: *Pour out oh Lord your wrath on the people who do not know you*.[16] Wherefore God is patient and restrained and holds back the waters of His wrath for a time, but then lets them rush forth with force.

Therefore, when we pray *Thy Kingdom Come*, we seek that the three-fold reign of God might come and destroy the three-fold reign of the Devil.[17] Concerning the first two reigns, Jerome wrote: In general we seek that God might reign over all the world so that the Devil might cease reigning in the world, with regard to the first; or that in each and every individual God might reign, with respect to the second.[18] Concerning the third kingdom, Cyprian wrote in his book *On the Lord's Prayer*: We seek our kingdom to come, which has been promised to us by God, and made possible by the blood of Christ so that in this age we might serve Christ, reigning with power.[19] We pray therefore *Thy Kingdom Come* with respect to the Church, to grace, and to glory, so that the kingdom of the synagogue of Satan, the kingdom of sin and malice, and the kingdom of darkness and misery might be destroyed.[20] It should be known that in this last pairing of kingdoms we do not ask that the kingdom of darkness be absolutely destroyed so that the Devil is no longer, but that the Devil might not reign over us in that kingdom, that is, that we might not come to that kingdom, for the Devil reigns over all the damned, according to Job 41: *He is the king over all the sons of pride*.[21]

Through this petition the vice of avarice is excluded, for the avaricious do not seek the kingdom of heaven, but the kingdom of this world. Avarice indeed is contrary to the three-fold kingdom of God and is conformed to the three-fold kingdom of the Devil.[22] That is, avarice is contrary to the first reign of God and conformed to the first reign of the Devil as the Apostle clearly stated in

quod idolorum servitus[163] repugnat fidei, in qua consistit regnum ecclesie; ergo etc.[164] Quod etiam contrarietur[165] secundo[166] patet Ecclesiastici decimo:[167] *Avaro*[168] *nichil est scelestius*.[169] Scelus autem et[170] peccatum repugnant[171] gratie quia[172] etc. Quod vero contrarietur[173] tertio regno dei et conformatur[174] tertio regno diaboli manifestum est,[175] secunde[176] Petri secundo, ubi loquens[177] de quibusdam habentibus cor excecatum[178] 'avaritia'[179] dicit[180] quod sint[181] *maledictionis*[182] *filii*. Petendo ergo regnum dei excluditur avaritia, quia per adventum unius contrariorum excluditur reliquum. Nec aliquem moveat quod non solum avaritia[183] sed et[184] quodlibet peccatum mortale contrariatur regno dei, et similiter sanctificationi nominis dei ac[185] etiam voluntati dei.[186] Licet[187] enim per quamlibet[188] istarum[189] petitionum omnia peccata excludantur,[190] unum tamen vitium magis directe opponitur alicui[191] petitioni quam aliud; et[192] similiter est de inclusione[193] virtutum et[194] donorum et[195] aliorum.

Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus[196] spes, per quam regnum exspectamus. Describitur enim[197] spes a magistro *Sententiarum*[198] libro tertio, distinctione vicesimo sexto:[199] Spes est certa exspectatio future beatitudinis, veniens ex dei gratia et ex meritis precedentibus. In qua descriptione ponitur[200] tria correspondentia triplici regno dei predicto, nam[201] quod dicit 'certa exspectatio' respicit regnum ecclesie, quod in fidei firmitate[202] consistit.[203] Unde certitudo spei certitudini fidei[204] innititur,[205] *spes enim que videtur non est spes*, Romanorum[206] octavo. Quod autem dicit 'future beatitudinis', respicit regnum glorie. Quod vero[207] addit 'ex[208] dei gratia etc.',[209] respicit regnum gratie et patet.[210] Ut igitur exspectatio sit certa, indigemus regno[211] ecclesie; ut[212] autem talis[213] exspectatio[214] ex[215] gratia dei et nostris meritis proveniat, opus[216] est[217] regno gratie; ut vero[218] futuram beatitudinem presentialiter habeamus, requiritur regnum glorie. Sic ergo per hoc quod[219] petimus regnum dei, introducitur[220] spes.[221]

Introducitur etiam[222] donum intellectus. Unde Glossa super Mattheum cum dicitur, *adveniat regnum tuum*: spiritus[223] intelligentie petitur,[224] quo[225] mundetur cor, ut[226] deus videatur. Hoc[227] enim donum tria facit in nobis[228] promoventia[229] nos[230] ad triplex regnum dei:[231] instruit ad recte credendum;[232]

Ephesians 5 where he said that avarice *is the servitude of idols*.[23] The servitude of idols is repugnant to faith, in which the kingdom of the Church consists, and therefore it is repugnant to the first understanding of the kingdom, or reign, of God. That avarice is contrary to the second understanding of the kingdom of God is clear from Ecclesiasticus 10: *there is nothing more accursed than the avaricious man*.[24] Wickedness however and sin are repugnant to grace, wherefore avarice is contrary to the second understanding of God's kingdom. That avarice is contrary to the third understanding of God's kingdom and is conformed to the third understanding of the kingdom of the Devil is clearly shown in 2 Peter 2, where Peter speaks about those having a hardened and blinded heart whereby the avaricious are said to be the *sons of condemnation*.[25] In seeking the kingdom of God, therefore, avarice is excluded, because through the coming of one thing its opposite is excluded. It should also be apparent that not only avarice, but each and every mortal sin is contrary to the kingdom of God, and likewise contrary to the sanctification of the name of God and to the will of God. Although through each of the petitions all sins are excluded, one vice nevertheless is more directly opposed to a given petition than to another, and it is similar with respect to the inclusion of the virtues, gifts, and beatitudes in each of the petitions.

In this petition is introduced from the virtues the virtue hope, through which we expect the kingdom, for hope is described by the Master of the *Sentences* in the third book, distinction 26 as follows: "Hope is a certain expectation of future blessedness, coming from the grace of God and from preceding merits."[26] In this description three things are found that correspond to the afore mentioned three-fold kingdom of God, for that which is called a 'certain expectation' is associated with the kingdom of the Church because the Church is constituted by the foundation of faith. Wherefore the certitude of hope needs the certitude of faith, *for hope that is seen is not hope*, according to Romans 8.[27] That which is called 'future blessedness' concerns the kingdom of glory, and that addition that follows, namely 'from the grace of God etc.' refers to the kingdom of grace. So that, therefore, the expectation might be certain, we need the reign of the Church, but so that such expectation might proceed from God's grace and our merits, is a work for the kingdom of grace; but the kingdom of glory is required so that we might have with us even now future blessedness. Thus hope is introduced through this petition when we seek the kingdom of God.

The gift that is introduced in this petition is the gift of understanding. Wherefore on Matthew's text *Thy Kingdom Come* the Gloss states: "the spirit of understanding is sought, by which the heart is cleansed so that God might be seen."[28] This gift does three things in us moving us towards the three-fold kingdom of God: it teaches us to believe rightly; it illuminates us to healthy

illustrat[233] ad sane intelligendum;[234] purgat ad pure intendendum. Recte credendo advenit[235] regnum[236] ecclesie;[237] sane intelligendo[238] advenit[239] regnum[240] gratie; sed[241] pure intendendo[242] advenit[243] regnum[244] glorie. De primo, Psalmi:[245] *Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via hac*,[246] *qua gradieris*.[247] Regnum enim[248] ecclesie militantis non est nisi quedam via,[249] qua ad regnum[250] glorie[251] gradimur. Et quia *ambulamus per fidem*, ut ait Apostolus, ideo indigemus dono intellectus ut instruat nos in credendis. Et hoc donum deus[252] cuilibet iusto promittit per prophetam cum dicit:[253] *Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via*.[254] De secundo, Matthei quinto decimo,[255] ubi Christus[256] increpans[257] discipulos[258] dicit:[259] *adhuc et vos sine intellectu estis?* Circa quod est[260] sciendum[261] quod donum intellectus est gratia intelligendi salubres significationes.[262] Dominus[263] ergo[264] cum dixerat,[265] *Non quod intrat in*[266] *os coinquinat hominem, sed quod procedit de ore*, discipulis petentibus ut ediscerent eis illam parabolam, dixit: *adhuc et vos*[267] *sine intellectu estis*? Credebant enim mysticum quod erat proprie et ad litteram[268] dictum. Ex quo patet quod ipsi adhuc[269] non erant[270] illustrati[271] dono intellectus. Vitiosus est[272] enim auditor, ut dicit Hieronymus: qui aut[273] obscura manifeste, aut[274] manifeste dicta[275] obscure[276] velit[277] intelligere. Hoc dono propheta petiit illustrari, dicens[278] Psalmo:[279] *Illustra faciem tuam super servum tuum*,[280] *doce me* etc.[281] De tertio, Psalmi:[282] *Intellectibus*[283] *manuum suarum deduxit*[284] *eos*. Donum siquidem intellectus non solum illustrat[285] intellectum, sed[286] etiam depurat affectum,[287] ut dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone de timore:[288] Sextus,[289] inquit, gradus est intellectus ubi ab omni falsitate[290] carnalis, vanitatis[291] corda mundantur,[292] ut[293] pura intentio dirigatur in deum.[294] Et differt istud donum[295] a dono sapientie quia sapientia est circa[296] res divinas; intellectus autem[297] circa res creatas, prout per eas moventur[298] in deum. Et quia he[299] multe sunt[300] et diverse, ideo dicitur[301] pluraliter[302] intellectibus quod[303] de sapientia nusquam[304] invenitur in[305] scriptura. Quia etiam[306] donum intellectus est quodam iuvamentum[307] promovens et dirigens opera nostra in finem cognitum et intentum,[308] ideo non solum intellectus assimulatur oculo, sed etiam manui,[309] propter quod dicitur:[310] *Intellectibus*[311] *manuum suarum deduxit eos*.[312]

De beatitudinibus[313] introducitur per hanc[314] petitionem munditia cordis. Nam munditia cordis[315] consequitur[316] donum intellectus, secundum[317]

understanding; and it purges us to right intent.[29] By believing rightly we come to the kingdom of the Church; by having healthy understanding we come to the kingdom of grace; and by having pure intent we come to the kingdom of glory. With regard to the first we read in the Psalms: *I will give you understanding and teach you in the way by which you will progress*,[30] for the kingdom of the Church militant is a certain way by which we progress to the kingdom of glory, and because *we walk through faith*, as the Apostle said,[31] we therefore need the gift of understanding so that it might teach us in believing. And God promises this gift to each just individual through the prophet when he said: *I will give you understanding*.[32] With respect to the second, we read in Matthew 15 when Christ rebukes his disciples in saying: *you have come this far with me and you are still without understanding?*[33] Here it should be known that the gift of understanding is the grace of understanding the salvific meanings of words. When the Lord therefore said: *Not what enters into the mouth contaminates a man, but what proceeds from the mouth*,[34] and he then said to his disciples who were asking him to teach them the meaning of the parable: *you have come this far with me and you still are without understanding?*,[35] for they were believing the mystical meaning of the words which were intended in their proper and literal meaning. Wherefore it is clear that they were thus still not yet illumined with the gift of understanding. The hearer, as Jerome said, is insidious "who wants to understand obscure things plainly, or things said plainly, obscurely."[36] This gift the prophet sought to illustrate in the Psalm saying: *Let your face shine upon your servant, teach me*, etc.[37] With respect to the third kingdom we read in the Psalm: *He led them with the understandings of his own hands*.[38] Certainly the gift of understanding "not only illuminates" the understanding, "but also purifies the affects," as Augustine says in a sermon on fear: "The sixth grade of understanding," he said "is when our hearts are cleansed from all falseness of the flesh and of vanity, so that our pure intent might be focused on God."[39] And that gift of understanding differs from the gift of wisdom, because wisdom concerns divine things, whereas understanding concerns the realm of creation, so that through created things our understanding is moved toward God. And because created things are manifold and diverse, the understanding is said to be understanding of a plurality, which is never found in Scripture with respect to wisdom.[40] Yet because the gift of understanding is a certain aid, or tool, moving and directing our works towards their intended and known end, therefore not only is the understanding associated with the eyes, but also with the hands, on account of which it is said: *He led them with the understandings of his own hands*.[41]

Through this petition is introduced from the beatitudes the beatitude of a pure heart,[42] for a pure heart follows the gift of understanding according to

Augustinum et Glossam,[318] et[319] patet ex dictis.[320] Facit enim munditia cordis[321] ad intelligentiam sicut puritas et claritas pupille[322] ad[323] visionem oculi, ut dicit Glossa, Matthei quinto.[324] Est autem munditia cordis duplex: una est depuratio mentis ab erroribus, ut ea, que de deo proponuntur,[325] sane et[326] pure capiantur, quod pertinet ad donum intellectus, ut dictum est.[327] Et in hac munditia consistit regnum ecclesie.[328] Alia est depuratio affectus ab inordinatis affectionibus,[329] quod etiam pertinet ad donum intellectus. Et in hac munditia consistit regnum[330] gratie. Et[331] quoniam[332] hec duplex munditia[333] hic habetur imperfecte,[334] perficietur autem in patria. Hinc est quod in[335] tali perfectione et consumatione consistit regnum glorie.

Ex quibus etiam[336] patet quod[337] convenienter huic beatitudini respondet[338] pro premio visio dei, que si perfecta sit, secundum quod[339] videtur deus per essentiam, pertinet ad donum intellectus et munditiam cordis consumatam; si vero sit imperfecta, pertinet ad ea[340] prout habentur in via, et sic semper visio[341] munditiam[342] coexigit.[343]

De fructibus etiam introducuntur hic[344] duo,[345] scilicet[346] gaudium et longanimitas. Gaudium quidem quia[347] petendo regnum ex magnitudine[348] desiderii, mens dilatatur et sic gaudium generatur. Longanimitas etiam[349] quia[350] non statim ut postulatur regnum possidetur, sed plerumque differtur[351] maxime regnum glorie. Et ideo opus[352] est longanimitate,[353] qua[354] mens interim delectata[355] exspectet. Est enim[356] longanimitas diuturna exspectatio boni desiderati cum delectatione spei certitudinem[357] consequente.[358]

Augustine and the Gloss, as is clear from the above. A pure heart moreover makes for understanding just as purity and clarity of the pupils makes for the vision of the eyes, as the Gloss says to Matthew 5.[43] A pure heart though is two-fold: one way of understanding a pure heart is the purity resulting from the purifying of the mind from errors, so that those things that are put before us by God might be healthfully and purely grasped, which pertains to the gift of understanding, as I explained above. And in this sense the purity of heart is part of the kingdom of the Church.[44] The second way of understanding a pure heart is the purification of the affects from inordinate desires, which also pertains to the gift of understanding, and in this sense the purity of heart is part of the kingdom of grace. Here in this life this two-fold purity of heart is only partial and imperfect, but in our true home in heaven it will be perfected and whole, and thus in such perfection and consummation is the kingdom of glory.

From these considerations it is clear that the beatitude of a purity of heart conveniently corresponds to the reward of the vision of God, which, if it is perfect according to which God is seen in His essence, it pertains to the gift of understanding and is made whole by the purity of heart; if, however, it is imperfect, as it is in our present life as pilgrims, the vision of God always requires the purity of heart.

From the fruits of the Holy Spirit there are two that are introduced here in this petition, namely joy and patience. Joy is certainly one because in seeking the kingdom with a greatness of desire, the mind is expanded and thus joy results. Patience is included here because we do not obtain the kingdom for which we seek immediately, but most frequently the kingdom of glory most of all is still a long way off, and thus it is a work of patience by which the mind in the mean time expects the future delight. Patience is a long lasting expectation of the good desired with joy resulting from the certitude of hope.[45]

Lectio quinta

Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.[1] Hec[2] tertia petitio rationabiliter sequitur secundam, quia secundum[3] Chrysostomum in homelia,[4] postquam dominus docuit concupiscere celestia dicendo *adveniat regnum tuum*,[5] antequam ad celum[6] perveniatur[7] in ipsa terra,[8] docet fieri[9] celum[10] per hoc quod[11] dicit, *fiat voluntas tua*.[12] Est[13] etiam[14] congruum ut[15] a quo regnum postulamus eius voluntati totaliter nos conformemus.[16] Ideo[17] rationabiliter hec petitio sequitur premissam.[18] Et quia voluntatem dei nostris viribus[19] perficere non valemus, dicente Apostolo Romanorum[20] septimo:[21] *velle* quidem[22] *adiacet michi, perficere autem non*[23] *invenio bonum*,[24] ideo hoc[25] petimus a deo quatius[26] ipse det nobis gratiam, ut[27] sicut voluntas sua perfecte fit[28] ab angelis et sanctis in celo, ita fiat a nobis qui[29] sumus[30] in terra. Nec putet aliquis[31] nos[32] hic petere[33] ut deus faciet[34] voluntatem suam, quia hoc[35] potest et facit[36] absque nostra petitione. Sed petimus ut sua voluntas a nobis fiat et[37] impleatur. Unde[38] dicit Cyprianus: Non[39] petimus[40] ut[41] deus faciet[42] quod vult,[43] sed ut nos facere possimus quod deus[44] vult, quod[45] ut[46] fiat in nobis opus est[47] dei voluntate, id est, opera[48] eius[49] et protectione,[50] quia nemo suis viribus fortis est, sed dei misericordia tutus.[51]

Notandum[52] autem[53] quod voluntas dei fit a[54] nobis[55] generaliter in mandatorum suorum[56] observatione. Unde dicit[57] propheta[58] Michee[59] sexto:[60] *Indicabo tibi*,[61] *o homo, quid sit bonum et quid dominus*[62] *requirat a te*:[63] *facere iudicium et diligere misericordiam et sollicitum*[64] *ambulare coram deo tuo*, ubi[65] tria dicit[66] ad que omnia mandata divina reducuntur si bene considerentur. Specialiter tamen dei[67] voluntas circa nos est triplex, secundum quod ipse specialiter a nobis[68] vult tria.[69] Vult enim deus:[70] peccatorum conversionem; conversorum[71] sanctificationem; sanctificatorum glorificationem. De primo,[72] Ezechielis duodevicesimo:[73] *Nolo mortem* peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.[74] De secundo,[75] prime[76] Thessalonicensium quarto:[77] *Hec est voluntas dei sanctificatio vestra*. De tertio, Iohannis sexto:[78] *Hec est voluntas*[79] *patris mei qui misit me*,[80] *ut omnis*[81] etc. usque[82] *habeat*[83] *vitam eternam*. Hanc[84] triplicem dei[85] voluntatem in nobis fieri petimus cum dicimus,[86] *fiat voluntas tua*.[87]

Illud vero quod additur, *sicut in celo et in terra*, potest exponi tripliciter, ut respondeat[88] isti[89] triplici voluntati dei. Uno[90] modo, ut per celum intelligantur[91] 'iusti';[92] per terram, vero[93] 'peccatores'. Et hoc respondet[94] prime voluntati

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_008

Lecture 5

Thy Will be done on earth as it is in heaven.[1] This third petition reasonably follows the second, because according to Chrysostom in a homily, after the Lord taught us to desire heavenly things in saying *Thy Kingdom Come*, and before we arrive in heaven, He taught that heaven might come about on this very earth through that which is said, *Thy Will be Done*.[2] It is fitting that we completely conform ourselves to the will of him whose reign we seek, and therefore this petition reasonably follows the previous one. Yet because we are not able to fulfill the will of God on our own, in saying with the Apostle in Romans 7: *the will*, certainly, *is mine, but I do not know how to do the good*,[3] therefore in this petition we ask God that He might continuously give us grace so that just as His will is perfectly done by the angels and saints in heaven, so it might be done by us who are on earth.[4] No one should think that in this petition we are asking that God might do his own will, for God is able to realize his will and does so without our asking. Rather, in this petition we seek that God's will might be done and fulfilled by us. Wherefore Cyprian said: "We do not ask that God might do what He wants, but that we might be able to do what God wants, so that the work of God's will might come about and be done in us, that is, by means of God's working in us and His protection, because no one is strong enough on his own to do the will of God, but the will of God can only be done by us thoroughly by God's mercy."[5]

It should be known that the will of God is done by us in a general sense in keeping God's commandments. Wherefore the prophet Micha says in chapter 6: *I will show you, oh man, what is good and what the Lord requires of you: to be discriminate and to love mercy, and to walk with care before your God*.[6] Here we find three things said that when we consider them well can encompass all of God's commandments. Yet in a special sense the will of God with respect to us is three-fold, according to which God wants three things from us, for God wants the conversion of sinners, the sanctification of those having been converted, and the glorification of those having been sanctified.[7] Concerning the first we read in Ezechiel 18: *I do not wish for the death of the sinner, but rather that the sinner might be converted and live*.[8] With respect to the second we read in 1 Thessalonians 4: *This is the will of God: your sanctification*.[9] And about the third we find in John 6: *This is the will of my father who sent me, that all*, and it continues until the phrase: *might have eternal life*.[10]

But the phrase that is added, *on earth as it is in heaven*, is able to be explained in three ways, so that it might correspond to the three-fold will of God. One way, 'heaven' is understood as 'the just' and by 'earth', is understood 'the sinners'.

dei, ut[95] sit sensus:[96] 'sicut voluntas tua fit in iustis, ita fiat[97] in peccatoribus', ut ad te convertantur. Alio[98] modo,[99] ut per[100] celum intelligatur vel[101] accipiatur[102] 'spiritus';[103] per terram, 'caro'. Et sic[104] respondet secunde voluntati[105] dei, ut sit[106] sensus:[107] sicut voluntas tua[108] fit[109] in spiritu,[110] quod[111] non resistit[112] tibi, ita[113] et in corpore,[114] ut non resistat spiritui et[115] per consequens nec[116] tibi. Spiritus enim[117] iustorum deo non resistit sed caro,[118] quia dicit[119] Apostolus Romanorum[120] septimo: *mente*, inquid, *servio legi dei, carne autem legi peccati*, et iterum: *condelector*[121] *enim*[122] *legi*[123] *dei secundum interiorem hominem, video*[124] *autem aliam*[125] *legem in membris meis*[126] etc.[127] Et secundum hoc, hic[128] petimus ut caro non resistat spiritui, vel si resistat et rebellet, quod[129] non prevaleat[130] quod pertinet ad sanctificationem hominis conversi. Tertio modo, potest exponi ut per celum intelligantur angeli et sancti in celo; per terram vero homines[131] degentes in terra.[132] Et hec expositio respondet[133] tertie voluntati[134] dei[135] et[136] est sensus: sicut voluntas tua fit in angelis et beatis[137] in celo, qui perfecti[138] sunt voluntati tue[139] conformati,[140] ita et[141] in nobis[142] hominibus in terra, ut[143] ita voluntatem tuam hic faciamus[144] quod et nos in gloria tue voluntati perfecte[145] conformemur. Et hec triplex expositio tangitur ab Augustino[146] in libro *De sermone domini in monte* super hoc[147] loco.[148] Dicamus ergo,[149] *fiat*[150] *voluntas tua*: in peccatorum conversione; in conversorum sanctificatione; in sanctificatorum glorificatione, *sicut in celo, et in terra*: sicut in iustis, ita[151] in peccatoribus; sicut in spiritu, ita[152] in carne; sicut in angelis, ita[153] in hominibus.

Notandum autem[154] secundum Chrysostomum, quod hec[155] clausula, *sicut in celo et in terra*, referri[156] debet super[157] omnes tres petitiones premissas, verbi gratia:[158] sanctificetur nomen tuum, sicut in celo et in terra; adveniat regnum tuum, sicut in celo et in terra;[159] fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra,[160] ad designandum[161] quod he[162] tres[163] petitiones perfecte complebuntur[164] in vita futura, sed in hac vita complentur[165] imperfecte, secundum modum nobis possibilem. Petimus ergo[166] in istis[167] tribus petitionibus, ut illa, que in[168] eis petimus, et hic[169] secundum modum possibilem[170] nobis donentur, et[171] illuc[172] perveniamus ubi perfecte compleantur. Unde secundum Augustinum,[173] he[174] tres petitiones complentur in vita futura, quatuor vero sequentes[175] pertinent ad necessitatem vite presentis.[176]

Dubitaret autem[177] aliquis circa predictas tres petitiones cum in qualibet earum subaudiatur 'nobis',[178] ut 'sanctificetur nomen tuum in nobis'; 'adveniat

And this corresponds to the first understanding of the will of God, so that the sense might be: 'just as your will is present in the just, so even might it be present in sinners, so that they might be converted to You.'[11] Another way of understanding this phrase is to undestand or accept 'heaven' as 'spirit', and 'earth' as 'flesh'. Thus this corresponds to the second way of understanding the will of God, so that the meaning would be: 'just as Your will is present in the spirit which does not resist You, so even might it be in the body, so that it might not resist the spirit, and consequently, You.' For the spirit of the just does not resist God, but the flesh, because the Apostle said in Romans 7: *with my mind I serve the law of God, but my flesh serves the law of sin*,[12] and further: *I am a lover of God's law according to the interior man, but I can see another law in my members*, etc.[13] And according to this, here we seek that the flesh might not resist the spirit, or if it does resist and rebell against the spirit, that it might not prevail, which pertains to the sanctification of the convert.[14] The third way of expositing *on earth as it is in heaven* is to understand by 'heaven' the angels and saints in heaven, and by 'earth', we humans here on earth.[15] This interpretation corresponds to the third will of God, wherefore the meaning is: 'just as your will is done by the angels and blessed in heaven, who are perfectly conformed to your will, so might it be even in we humans here on earth, so that thus we might do your will here, because we too will be perfectly conformed to your will in glory'. And this three-fold exposition was touched upon by Augustine in his book *On the Sermon on the Mount* in treating this phrase of the prayer.[16] We say, therefore, *Thy Will Be Done*: in the conversion of sinners; in the sanctification of the converted; and in the glorification of the sanctified;[17] and we say, *on earth as it is in heaven* meaning: just as in the just, so in the sinners; just as in the spirit, so even in the flesh; just as in the angels, so even in we humans.[18]

It should be noted, however, that according to Chrysostom the clause *on earth as it is in heaven* ought to be applied to all three petitions that come before it; for example: *Holy Be Thy Name*, *on earth as it is in heaven*; *Thy Kingdom Come, on earth as it is in heaven*; and *Thy Will Be Done, on earth as it is in heaven*.[19] This would designate that these three petitions will be perfectly fulfilled in the future life, but in this life they are fulfilled imperfectly, according to the extent possible for us. We seek therefore in these three petitions that those things that we seek might be granted to us both here to the extent that is possible for us, and in heaven, when we come there, that they might be perfectly fulfilled. Wherefore according to Augustine, these first three petitions are fulfilled in the life to come, but the following four pertain to the necessities of our present life.[20]

Someone, however, might question why, in these first three petitions since 'in us' or 'by us' or 'to us' is implied in each of them so that we would pray 'may

regnum tuum[179] nobis';[180] similiter,[181] 'fiat voluntas tua in nobis et a nobis,'[182] quare salvator hoc[183] non expressit, sed sic impersonaliter est locutus.

Ad hanc dubitationem respondens[184] Chrysostomus dicit:[185] Vide, inquit, quam[186] caute locutus est. Non dixit pater, sanctifica nomen tuum in nobis, adhuc[187] regnum tuum super nos, fac voluntatem tuam in nobis.[188] Nec iterum dixit, sanctificemus nomen tuum, suscipiamus regnum tuum, faciamus voluntatem tuam. Ne hoc aut[189] dei tantum aut[190] hominis tantum esse[191] videatur sed medie[192] dixit et impersonaliter.[193] Nam sicut homo non potest facere bonum[194] nisi habuerit[195] adiutorium dei, sic[196] nec deus bonum operatur in homine nisi homo voluerit. Hec Chrysostomus.[197]

Per hanc[198] petitionem excluditur invidia, que inter cetera vitia maxime[199] contrariatur divine voluntati. Nam dei voluntati[200] placet bonum hominis et malum displicet; invido autem econtrario[201] placet malum alterius[202] et displicet bonum dei. Etiam[203] bonitas[204] tanta est, quod etiam[205] de malo scit bonum elicere, secundum Augustinum; invidi autem malitia tanta est, quod de bono malum elicit. Est autem[206] invidia, secundum Augustinum,[207] odium aliene felicitatis. Et licet hoc nomine felicitatis intelligatur prosperitas,[208] successus in bono sive temporali sive spirituali, precipue tamen[209] felicitas attenditur penes[210] bonum spirituale. Bonum[211] autem nostrum spirituale triplex est, secundum triplicem voluntatem dei, qua[212] ipse[213] bonum[214] nostrum vult,[215] videlicet[216] bonum: conversionis; sanctificationis;[217] et[218] glorificationis.[219] Hoc[220] triplex bonum[221] invidus vellet[222] auferre proximo si posset, immo et[223] venam[224] totius boni vellet aliis obstruere, quod figuratum est Genesis vicesimo sexto,[225] ubi legitur quod *invidentes* Philistini[226] *omnes puteos* Isaac *obstruxerunt*.[227] Sic[228] invidi, qui per 'Philistini'[229] intelliguntur, vellent omnes[230] obstruere puteos, de[231] quibus alii[232] bonum haurire possent, ut ipsi soli felices existerent.

Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus[233] caritas, cuius est divine voluntati hominem conformare,[234] iuxta illud Iohannis quarto decimo:[235] *Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit*.[236] Nec mirum si enim amicitia[237] naturalis facit[238] amicorum[239] idem velle, secundum[240] Philosophum octavo[241] Ethicorum,[242] quanto magis caritas, que est virtus divina,[243] habet[244] voluntatem hominis voluntati[245] dei[246] conformare.[247] Unde ipsa[248] secundum Dionysium transformat amantem[249] in amatum, quod intelligendum est[250] secundum conformitatem affectuum et voluntatum.[251] Impletur autem voluntas dei in nobis per caritatem specialiter[252] quantum ad triplicem voluntatem dei[253] predictam.[254] Per caritatem enim[255] ad deum trahimur[256] in conversione; deo unimur[257] in sanctificatione; a[258] deo coronamur in[259]

your name be holy in us', 'may your kingdom come to us' and similarly, 'may your will be done in us and by us', the savior did not express this explicitly, but left it to be impersonally stated?

Chrysostom responded to this question in saying: "See how cautiously it is stated. The Father did not say 'holy be thy name in us', 'thy kingdom come to reign over us', 'do your will in us', nor further did He say: 'may we sanctify your name, may we receive your reign, may we do your will', lest this be seen to be the action of God alone or of man alone, but he phrased it impersonally to include both, for just as man is not able to do the good without the help of God, so neither does God work the good in man unless man wants Him to."[21] Thus Chrysostom.

Through this petition is excluded the vice of envy, because among all the other vices, envy is the one most contrary to the divine will. For the good of man pleases the will of God and man's evil displeases the will of God. God's goodness is so great that He even knows how to draw out the good from evil, according to Augustine, whereas the perfidity of the envious individual is so great that from the good, he draws out evil.[22] According to Augustine, envy is the hatred of someone else's happiness.[23] Although this word 'happiness' is understood as 'prosperity' coming from either temporal good or spiritual good, 'happiness' nevertheless applies most of all to all spiritual good. Our spiritual good though is three-fold, in keeping with the three-fold will of God, by which God wills our good, namely, the good of conversion, of sanctification, and of glorification. This three-fold good the envious individual desires to take away from his neighbor, if he is able, even more so, the envious wants to block up the tributaries of all good for others, which is prefigured in Genesis 26, where it is read that the *envious* Philistines *blocked up all* of Isaac's *wells*.[24] Thus the envious, who are understood here by 'Philistines', want to block up the wells, from which others are able to draw good, so that they might alone be happy.

Through this petition is introduced here from the virtues the virtue of love, the proper work of which is to conform man to the divine will, according to John 14: *If someone loves me, he will keep my word*.[25] It is no wonder if natural friendship make friends want the same things, according to the Philosopher in book eight of the Ethics,[26] so how much greater is it the case that love, which is a divine virtue, makes the will of man to conform to the will of God? Wherefore love, according to Dionysius, transforms the lover into the beloved,[27] which is understood with respect to the conformity of the emotions and will. The will of God is especially fulfilled in us in keeping with the three-fold will of God already mentioned, for by love we are drawn to God in conversion, we are united with God in sanctification, and are crowned by God in glorification.[28] The first is

glorificatione. Primum patet Osee undecimo:[260] *Traham eos in vinculis*[261] *caritatis*. Secundum patet Iohannis quarto decimio:[262] *Si quis diligit me* etc., *et ad eum veniemus et mansiones*[263] *apud eum faciemus*,[264] ubi[265] Augustinus: caritas nos separat a mundo et ipsa nos unit deo. Tertium etiam[266] patet Iacobi primo:[267] *Beatus vir* etc., et sequitur[268] *accipiet*[269] *coronam vite, quam repromisit deus diligentibus se*.[270]

De donis[271] introducitur hic[272] donum consilii. Unde Glossa hic: spiritus[273] consilii postulatur quo ipsa[274] voluntas dei[275] inquiritur ut a nobis impleatur. Per donum enim consilii homo dirigitur quasi consilio[276] a deo accepto in his ad que[277] humana ratio non sufficit. Per prudentiam autem[278] et[279] virtutes ei annexas homo sufficienter dirigitur in his que humana ratio comprehendere potest.[280] Cum ergo dicimus, *fiat voluntas tua*,[281] petimus a deo consilium[282] ut ipse suam voluntatem nobis insinuet et secundum eam vivere nobis donet.[283] Itaque[284] donum consilii facit nos implere triplicem voluntatem dei predictam,[285] nam per donum consili: peccatum remittitur; gratia infunditur; gloria acquiritur. Primum patet Ieremie quinquagesimo:[286] *Audite consilium*[287] *domini*.[288] Et sequitur: *Hec dicit dominus: Ecce ego suscitabo*[289] *super Babylonem et super*[290] *habitatores*[291] *eius qui cor suum levaverunt contra me*,[292] *quasi ventum*[293] *pestilentem*[294] *et mittam in Babylonem ventilatores et ventilabunt eam*. 'Babylon' interpretatur confusio et signat animam peccatricem[295] cuius[296] habitatores sunt vitia. 'Ventus pestilens' est spiritus sanctus[297] peccata[298] removens et consumens. 'Ventilatores' sunt divine correptiones,[299] infirmitatum, tribulationum et penalitatum, quibus deus peccatores ventilat et[300] paleas peccatorum excuciat.[301] De secundo et tertio simile[302] potest sumi[303] quod scribitur Ecclesiastici vicesimo primo: *Consilium eius*, scilicet[304] sapientie increate, *sicut fons vite permanet*.[305] Donum siquidem[306] consilii[307] est sicut fons vite de quo hauritur[308] gratia in presenti et[309] gloria in futuro. De quo fonte dicit propheta:[310] *Domine, apud te est fons vite*.[311]

Introducitur etiam[312] per hanc petitionem[313] beatitudo misericordie, que secundum Augustinum sequitur donum consilii; dicit enim in libro *De sermone domini in monte*: Consilium convenit misericordibus quia unicum remedium[314] est de tantis malis exui dimittere et dare. Impletur autem in misericordibus triplex voluntas dei predicta.[315] Nam misericordibus:[316] peccatum dimittitur; gratia infunditur; et[317] beatitudo promittitur. Primum patet, quia[318] sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosyna extinguit[319] peccata.[320] De secundo Psalmi:[321] *Iocundus homo qui miseretur et commodat*; spiritualis autem iocunditas non est sine[322] gratia.[323] De tertio Proverbiorum quarto: *Qui miseretur pauperi, beatus*

seen in Hosia 11: *I will draw them in the chains of love*.[29] The second is clear from John 14: *If someone loves me*, etc. and *we will come to him and make many houses in his presence*,[30] where Augustine says that love does not separate us from the world, but unites us with God.[31] The third is evident in the first chapter of James: *Blessed is the man*, etc. and that which follows: *receive the crown of life, which God has promised to those who love him*.[32]

From the gifts of the Holy Spirit is introduced here the gift of counsel. Wherefore the Gloss states: "the spirit of counsel is sought by which the will of God itself is examined so that it might be fulfilled by us."[33] Through the gift of counsel, man is directed as if he has received counsel from God in those things for which the human reason does not suffice. Through prudence, however, and those virtues connected to it, man is sufficiently guided in those things which the human reason is able to comprehend. When we say, therefore, *Thy Will be Done*, we seek counsel from God so that He Himself might work his will in us and that He might give to us the ability to live according to His will. Therefore the gift of counsel allows us to fulfill the three-fold will of God as we have already discussed it, for through the gift of counsel our sin is forgiven, grace is infused, and glory is acquired. Regarding the first we read in Jeremiah 50: *Listen to the counsel of the Lord*,[34] and that which follows: *This says the Lord: I will raise up over Babylon and over its inhabitants, who hold their hearts against me, a pestilent wind and I will send against Babylon purgers and they will blow Babylon and its inhabitants away*.[35] 'Babylon' here is interpreted as 'confusion' and signifies the sinful soul whose inhabitants are the vices.[36] The 'pestilent wind' is the Holy Spirit removing and consuming sins. 'Purgers' are divine corrections, sickness, tribulation, and punishments, by which God winnows sinners and casts out the chaff of sinners. Similarly the second and third are able to be taken as described in Ecclesiasticus 21: *His counsel*, namely uncreated wisdom, *remains as a font of life*,[37] for the gift of counsel is as a font of life from which is drawn grace in the present life, and glory in the life to come. Concerning this font the Prophet said: *Lord, in you is the font of life*.[38]

The beatitude of mercy is introduced through this petition, which, according to Augustine, follows the gift of counsel, for he said in his book *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*: "Counsel goes along with mercy because there is one remedy for great evil, namely, casting it off, forgiving it, giving counsel."[39] The three-fold will of God we have been talking about is fulfilled in the merciful, for to the merciful sin is forgiven, grace is infused, and blessedness is promised. The first is clear, for just as water extinguishes fire, so does the giving of alms extinguish sin. Regarding the second we read in the Psalms: *the joyful man is he who is merciful and accomodating*.[40] There is though no spiritual joy without grace. About the third we read in Proverbs ⟨1⟩4: *He who is merciful to the poor*

erit, et[324] Matthei quinto:[325] *Beati misericordes*, quibus pro premio promittitur[326] misericordia. Unde dicitur, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Dignum est enim ut quod aliis[327] propter deum impendunt,[328] hoc[329] ipsi[330] a deo recipiant.[331]

De fructibus etiam[332] introducuntur hic tres,[333] videlicet caritas, bonitas et[334] benignitas. Caritas quidem[335] secundum eandem correspondentiam et adaptationem que dicta est de virtute caritatis. Bonitas autem que[336] importat bonam voluntatem benefaciendi secundum conformitatem voluntatis divine. Benignitas etiam[337] qua[338] quis voluntatem dei ferventi[339] desiderio[340] implere satagit. Unde hec duo differunt, quia bonitas[341] magis importat propositum voluntatis;[342] benignitas vero magis[343] executionem operis.[344] Dicitur enim benignus, quem[345] bonus ignis[346] amoris fervere[347] facit ad benefaciendum.[348]

will be blessed,[41] and in Matthew 5: *Blessed are the merciful*,[42] to whom mercy is promised as a reward. Wherefore it is said that the merciful follow mercy. It is fitting therefore that those who provide for others for God's sake will receive the same from God.

From the fruits of the Holy Spirit are introduced in this petition three, namely love, goodness, and kindness.[43] Love certainly is included here according to its correspondence and adaptation based on what was said about the virtue of love. Goodness however is included because it brings the good will to those doing good in keeping with the divine will. Kindness is included here as well for by kindness one strives to fulfill the will of God with a fervent desire. Wherefore goodness and kindness differ because goodness more appropriately is related to the proposition of the will, whereas kindness concerns how good works are carried out. For the kind person is said to be the one whom the good fire of love makes burn with the desire to do good.

Lectio sexta

Panem nostrum supersubstantialem[1] *da nobis hodie*.[2] Postquam petivimus[3] ea,[4] que respiciunt vitam futuram, nunc descendimus[5] ad ea, que respiciunt[6] necessitatem vite presentis. Quorum primum est sustentatio nature, quam hic[7] nomine panis petimus.[8] Unde dicit Augustinus in Enchiridio:[9] tria, inquit,[10] que in primis[11] petitionibus petuntur hic inchoantur et quantumcumque proficimus,[12] augentur in nobis, perfecte vero in alia[13] vita possidebuntur.[14] Reliquis[15] vero que sequuntur[16] quatuor[17] petuntur temporalia que propter eterna consequenda sunt necessaria. Panis enim qui[18] consequenter[19] petitur hic[20] est necessarius, et ita[21] de aliis.[22] Exponitur autem hec[23] particula dupliciter:[24] primo de pane[25] materiali, secundo de pane mystico et[26] spirituali.

Exponendo de pane materiali dicendum[27] quod hic in[28] sex dictionibus sex includuntur[29] circumstantie circa sumptionem cibi corporalis attendende.[30] Primo namque[31] resecatur[32] superfluitas, per hoc quod[33] dicitur[34] *panem*; non[35] ait[36] carnes, non[37] pisces nec[38] aliquod superfluum, sed solum quod necessarium est nature,[39] quod signatur[40] per panem,[41] Ecclesiastici vicesimo nono:[42] *Initium vite hominis*[43] *aqua et panis*.

Secundo, resecatur[44] rapacitas,[45] ut homo non rapiat[46] nec alias sibi[47] cibum illicitum[48] usurpet vel illicite[49] acquirat,[50] per hoc quod dicitur *nostrum*[51] non alienum. Unde[52] Chrysostomus: Qui de iustitia panem acquisitum manducat, suum panem manducat; qui autem cum peccato,[53] alienum.

Tertio, resecatur[54] gulositas vel leccacitas[55] ut[56] scilicet in summendo[57] non querat[58] leccacitatem et[59] delectationem,[60] sed nature sustentationem, per hoc quod dicitur *supersubstantialem*, id est superadditum substantie. Cibus enim cum[61] convertitur[62] quasi[63] substantie nostre superadditur et[64] sic per restaurationem deperditi corpus sustentatur.[65] Ad illum ergo finem cibus debet sumi ut substantia nature nostre[66] superteneatur[67] et sustentetur. Unde dicit[68] Augustinus decimo[69] *Confessionum*:[70] Hoc[71] me docuisti domine ut quemadmodum medicamenta sic alimenta sumpturus accedam. Ubi autem Mattheus dicit[72] supersubstantialem, Lucas dicit cottidianum,[73] et refertur ad idem. Quia enim[74] cottidie in nobis fit[75] deperditio,[76] necesse[77] est ut[78] cottidie[79] fiat restauratio. Unde oportet quod panis restaurativus et sustentativus[80] sit cottidianus, ut sit sensus:[81] *panem nostrum cottidianum*, id est, quo cottidie indigemus et[82] sine quo in vita ista subsistere non[83] valemus. Vel etiam cottidianum potest referri ad idem cum eo[84] quod[85] subditur[86] 'hodie', ut patebit.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_009

Lecture 6

Give Us this Day Our Daily Bread.[1] After we ask for those things that concern the future life, we now descend to those things that concern the necessities of this present life. Of these the first is the sustenance of our nature, for which here we ask with the name 'bread'.[2] Wherefore Augustine said in his *Enchiridion*: "there are three things," he said, "that we seek in these first petitions that are begun here in our present life and in which we progress to the extent possible as they grow in us, but they are only perfectly obtained in that other life.[3] In the following four petitions, however, we seek temporal things which are necessary for the eternal things to be pursued,[4] for 'bread' which is consequently sought is necessary for our present life,"[5] and the same is valid for the other petitions. In expositing the particulars, we need to address in the first place material bread, and then in the second place mystical and spiritual bread.[6]

In interpreting 'material bread' it should be said that here in six statements are included six circumstances to be noted concerning the consumption of corporal food. First, excessiveness is moderated by that which is called 'bread', for we do not say 'meat', or 'fish' or something else that is superfluous, but we only pray for that which is necessary for our nature, which is signifed by 'bread',[7] as seen in Ecclesiasticus 29: *The beginning of human life is bread and water*.[8]

Second, ravenousness is moderated by praying *our daily bread*, not that of someone else, so that man does not sieze, usurp, or acquire for himself illicitly the food of someone else. Wherefore Chrysostom said: "Who eats the bread he has acquired justly eats his own bread, whereas he who has acquired his bread with sin, eats the bread of someone else."[9]

Third, gluttony or lasciviousness is moderated by that which is called 'daily bread', that is that which is added to our substance, namely, so that in taking food one does not seek immoderate pleasure and delight but the sustenance of their nature. Food ought to be taken therefore to that end that the substance of our nature is sustained and preserved. Wherefore Augustine said in book ten of the *Confessions*: "You teach me this Lord, that I take nutriment in the same way as medicine."[10] Whereas, however, the Gospel of Matthew uses the word 'added to our substance', Luke has 'daily',[11] though they refer to the same thing, because since each day we are diminished, a restauration is necessary each day. Wherefore it is fitting that 'restorative and sustaining bread' is 'daily', so that the sense is: *our daily bread*, that is, that which we need each day and without which we are not able to maintain our health, for 'daily' is connected to *this day*, as is clear.

Quarto,[87] resecatur[88] ingratitudo,[89] ne scilicet[90] homo presumat de se posse[91] habere sustentationem, per hoc quod dicitur *da*, quasi dicat[92] quia[93] nec minimum granum ex nobis habere possumus nisi tu des,[94] Psalmi:[95] *Qui dat escam omni carni*. Sed dices,[96] si panis noster est,[97] quomodo petimus eum nobis dari, quod enim[98] noster[99] est iam habemus? Item, videtur quod[100] dives non habeat[101] dicere hanc petitionem cum iam panem sufficientem[102] habeat. Dicendum secundum[103] Gregorium in Moralibus:[104] panis quem habemus dei est[105] ex munere, noster[106] per usum et acceptionem; vel[107] secundum Chrysostomum: panem nostrum[108] quem iam[109] habemus a deo nobis dari petimus, ut[110] dum ab eo datur,[111] sanctificatus accipiatur. Panem ergo nostrum, id est[112] quem nos[113] iam habemus, paratum de tuo munere da nobis[114] ut a te sanctificetur, sicut[115] sacerdos accipiens[116] panem a laico sanctificat et porrigit ei,[117] panis enim[118] offerentis est sed[119] quod sanctificatum est, beneficium[120] est sacerdotis.[121] Et secundum hoc erit[122] sensus:[123] *panem nostrum cottidianum da*,[124] id est benedic et sanctifica. In quo docemur quod cibus absque benedictione[125] non est sumendus. Et[126] secundum hunc modum exponendi[127] cum[128] dicimus, 'hoc[129] panem nostrum cottidianum da[130] et tibi fac',[131] sensus[132] est sicut[133] cum dicimus[134] in benedictione mense:[135] Benedic, domine,[136] dona[137] tua,[138] que de largitate tua sumus sumpturi.[139] Unde homo devotus tali[140] mente[141] debet sumere cibum, ac si sibi de manu domini[142] presentialiter ministretur.[143]

Quinto, resecatur[144] incommunitas,[145] ut scilicet[146] homo ita[147] sibi cibum non appropriet quin[148] etiam[149] aliis indigentibus[150] communicet,[151] per hoc quod dicitur *nobis* non[152] michi solum.[153] Unde Chrysostomus: omnia que nobis deus dat,[154] per nos aliis[155] dat, ut de eo quod accepimus partem impotentibus[156] faciamus, iuxta illud: *Mittite partes eis*[157] *qui*[158] *non preparaverunt sibi*. Et[159] ideo dicit Augustinus: dicit,[160] inquit, tibi Christus, da michi ex eo quod[161] dedi tibi,[162] habuisti[163] largitorem, habe[164] debitorem,[165] habe feneratorem.[166]

Sexto, resecatur[167] nimia[168] sollicitudo, ne scilicet homo nimis[169] sollicitetur in providendo[170] sibi in futurum,[171] per hoc quod dicit[172] *hodie*, non[173] per triginta vel quadraginta annos immo[174] nec per cras,[175] quia nescimus si in crastinum perveniemus.[176] Ex qua[177] etiam ratione dicit dominus Matthei septimo:[178] *Nolite solliciti*[179]*esse in crastinum. Crastinus*[180] *enim dies sollicitus*[181] *erit sibi; sufficit enim diei malitia sua*.[182] Ad[183] hoc etiam referri potest,[184] quod

Fourth, ungratefulness is moderated, so that man does not presume that he has from himself the capacity for his own sustenance, which is indicated by the word 'give', as if saying that we are not able on our own to have the very smallest grain of wheat unless you might give it, as is said in the Psalms: *Who gives food to all flesh?*[12] But you might say that if the bread is ours, how is it that we ask that it be given to us, for do we not already possess what is ours? Further, it seems that the wealthy man does not have to pray this petition since he already has enough bread. The response to this is, as Gregory put it in his *Moral Interpretations of Job*: "the bread that we have is God's which he gives us as an offering, so that it is 'ours' for our receiving and use",[13] or according to Chrysostom: "we ask God that our bread which we already have might be given to us so that while it is given by God, it is sanctified in being received. Therefore we pray *give us our daily bread*, which is our bread that we already have, prepared by your offering, so that it might be sanctified by you, just as the priest, receiving the bread from the laity, sanctifies it and distributes it, for it is the bread of offering, but it is sanctified by the blessing of the priest."[14] And according to this, the meaning will be: *give us our daily bread*, that is, bless it and sanctify it. In this we are taught that we must not eat food wtihout blessing it, and in this way of interpreting it, when we say, *Give us this day our daily bread*, the meaning is the same as when we say in the benediction of the table: "Bless, Oh Lord, your gifts which we have received from your bounty." Wherefore the devout man ought to eat his food with such a state of mind as if he is presently being ministered to by the hand of the Lord.[15]

Fifth, asocialiability is moderated, namely, so that man does not appropriate food for himself but gives to others who need it, which is indicated when we pray *our daily bread*, meaning not mine alone. Wherefore Chrysostom wrote: "All that God gives to us, he gives to others through us, so that what we receive from him we do so only in part so that we might make the rest available for those having less than we,"[16] which is in keeping with the verse: *give a portion to those who are not able to provide for themselves*.[17] Therefore Augustine said: "Christ said to you: 'give to me from that which I have given to you'; you have an abundance, have people in your debt, have those who borrow from you."[18]

Sixth, being overly concerned and worried is moderated, so that man might not be too concerned in providing for his future, which is indicated when we pray *this day*, not for the next thirty or forty years, nor even for tomorrow, because we do not know if we will even live to see the morrow.[19] With this understanding the Lord said in Matthew 7: *Do not be concerned for the morrow. Tomorrow is a day with its own concerns. The troubles of a single day are enough*.[20] This then is supplemented by what Luke said when he said *daily*, for he did not

Lucas dicit[185] cottidianum non annuum[186] vel[187] decem annis[188] provisum et in horreis reservatum. Unde dicit Chrysostomus: pro cibo cottidiano oramus, ut nequaquam ulterioris[189] diei cura concurrat, crastine[190] enim[191] diei spatium te visurum esse nescis quam[192] ob[193] causam in[194] illius sollicitudine[195] torqueris. Et[196] hoc est proprie perfectorum, qui cupientes dissolvi petunt regnum dei, ut de vita presenti non sollicitentur.[197] Unde dicit Cyprianus:[198] Diurnum cibum discipulus[199] Christi debet petere; contrarium enim[200] esset et repugnans si nos qui petimus[201] regnum dei velociter advenire queremus[202] in hoc seculo diu manere.[203]

Et[204] notandum[205] quod non dicitur 'cibus diurnus' vel 'cottidianus'[206] qui[207] una[208] die potest consumi, sed[209] qui sufficit ad sustentationem nature pro una die[210] secundum moderamen rationis. Et hoc est[211] quod dicit Cyprianus: panem cottidianum petere instruimur[212] ut tantum quis manducet quantum ratio naturalis exigit non quantum lascivia carnis impellit.[213] Si enim in[214] uno convivio tantum[215] expendas quantum tibi[216] sufficere[217] potest[218] centum diebus iam non cottidanum cibum manducas, sed multorum dierum.

Alio[219] modo hec petitio[220] potest exponi de pane mystico et spirituali; et sic exponendo, possumus dicere quod est[221] triplex[222] panis:[223] panis doctrinalis, sacramentalis, et celestis,[224] vel sic[225] panis[226] intelligentie, eucharistie, glorie.[227] Primus[228] repellit[229] famen erroris.[230] Secundus[231] est in[232] nutrimentum amoris. Tertius[233] prebet[234] delectamentum saporis.

De primo pane dicitur Ecclesiastici[235] quindecimo:[236] *Cibavit*[237] *illum panem vite et intellectus*, et Matthei quarto: *non in solo pane vivit homo* etc.[238] Iste panis dicitur supersubstantialis quia superadditur substantie anime nostre, informans ipsam habitibus nobilibus, puta scientiis, virtutibus et spiritualibus carismatibus. Unde dicit Augustinus in[239] *De verbis domini*: 'panis supersubstantialis' dicitur eo quod anime nostre substantiam fulcit;[240] dicitur[241] 'cottidianum'[242] quia cottidie necesse est, ut[243] nobis ab ore doctorum administretur ut dicit Chrysostomus. Hunc panem petimus nobis dari[244] hodie, id est quamdiu sumus in hac vita. Tota enim presens vita est[245] quasi quoddam 'hodie'[246] dicente Apostolo Hebraeorum[247] tertio: *hortamini*[248] *vos*[249] *per singulos dies, donec hodie cognominatur*. In futura autem vita iste panis non erit necessarius, quia nullus erit ibi ignarus,[250] sed *erunt docibiles omnes dei*, Iohannis sexto.[251]

say 'gives us provisions for a year' or 'for ten years' to be reserved in barns.[21] Wherefore Chrysostom said: "we pray for our daily food, so that the cares of another day might not interfere, for tomorrow is a day that is a space of time yet to be seen by you; you never know how you might suffer because of being concerned about the causes of you know not what."[22] And this attitude pertains most of all to the perfect, who, in desiring to empty themselves, seek the kingdom of God, so that they might not be concerned with the present life. Wherefore Cyprian said: "the disciple of Christ ought to seek food for each day, for it would be contrary and opposing to our petitions if we who seek the kindgom of God to come quickly, would ask to remain for a while in this day and age."[23]

It should be noted that the prayer does not ask "food for a day" or "daily food" as the amount of food that can be eaten in one day, but as the food sufficient for one day to sustain our health with the moderation of reason. And this is what Cyprian said: "we are taught to seek daily bread so that one will eat only as much as natural reason deems is needed, not as much as lasciviousness of the flesh compels us. For if in one meal you provide as much as would suffice for you for a hundred days, you are already not eating daily food, but food for many days."[24]

In another way this petition is able to be interpreted as referring to mystical and spiritual bread, and expositing it in this way we are able to say that the bread is three-fold, namely doctrinal bread, sacramental bread, and heavenly bread, or thusly: the bread of understanding, the bread of the eucharist, and the bread of glory.[25] The first counters the statement of error. The second is the nourishment of love. The third offers the delight of taste.[26]

Concerning the first type of bread, Ecclesiasticus 15 says: *she gave him the bread of life and understanding to eat*,[27] and the fourth chapter of Matthew: *man lives not by bread alone*,[28] etc. That bread is called 'supersubstantial' because it is added to the substance of our soul, informing it with a noble habit, namely the habits of knowledge, virtues, and spiritual gifts. Wherefore Augustine said in his book *On the Words of the Lord*: "'supersubstantial bread' is said to be that which fills out the substance of our soul";[29] it is called 'daily' because it is necessary on a daily basis, so that it might be administered to us from the mouths of the doctors, as Chrysostom said.[30] We ask that this bread be given to us daily, that is for as long as we are in this life, for the entirety of our present life is as in a certain sense a single day, in keeping with what the Apostle said in the third chapter of Hebrews: *encourage each other each day as long as it is named today*.[31] In the life to come, however, that bread will not be necessary, because no one in that life will be ignorant, but *all those of God will be teachable*, as is said in John 6.[32]

De secundo[252] pane, scilicet eucharistie,[253] dicitur Johannis sexto:[254] *Ego sum panis vivus*, etc.[255] Unde Hieronymus super Mattheum:[256] Quando[257] petimus ut panem nobis deus[258] tribuat, panem illum petimus qui dicit in evangelio: *Ego sum panis vivus*, etc.[259] Iste panis dicitur supersubstantialis quod secundum Hieronymum in Greco 'epusyon'[260] dicitur quod quidam[261] interpretantur[262] egregium vel peculiarem.[263] Et revera iste benedictus panis est summe[264] egregius et nobis maxime peculiaris. Non enim est tam grandis natio que habeat deos[265] appropinquantes sibi sicut[266] adest[267] nobis dominus[268] deus noster.[269] Ex eo videlicet quod[270] manducamus istum sanctissimum panem,[271] quo deo unimur, propter quod dicitur esse[272] sacramentum unitatis. Unde dicitur[273] Iohannis sexto: *Qui manducat meam carnem*[274] etc.,[275] *in me manet et ego in eo*.[276] Dicitur etiam panis[277] cottidianus, quia cottidie, id est omni die, sumendus est.[278] Unde Augustinus in libro[279] *De verbis domini*:[280] accipe cottidie quod cottidie tibi prosit, sic vive ut[281] cottidie merearis accipere. Qui non meretur cottidie accipere,[282] non meretur post annum accipere.[283] Si ergo panis iste[284] cottidianus est, cur post annum illum[285] sumas?[286] Et subdit Augustinus ibidem:[287] Si cottidie accipis,[288] cottidie[289] est tibi hodie, Christus tibi[290] cottidie resurgit, hodie enim est quando Christus resurgit.[291] Hunc etiam panem petimus dari nobis hodie, id est in[292] vita presenti, ut supra,[293] quia in vita futura non accipiemus[294] sub sacramenti accidentibus velatum, sed[295] secundum Apostolum: *Revelata facie gloriam domini*[296] *speculantes in eandem imaginem transformabimur*[297] *a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a domini*[298] *spiritu*,[299] secunde[300] Corinthiorum tertio.[301]

De tertio[302] pane scilicet celesti sive glorie dicitur Luce[303] quarto decimo:[304] *Beatus qui manducat panem in regno dei*.[305] Et bene[306] illa beata[307] fruitio dicitur 'panis', quia sicut panis corporalis satiat appetitum edentis, sic fruitio illa satiat desiderium contemplantis, Psalmus: *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*. Reficimur autem ibi non solum visione divinitatis, sed et[308] pascimur deliciosa contemplatione humanitatis in Christo.[309]

Propter quod[310] sciendum, quod secundum[311] Bernardum,[312] Christus dicitur triplex panis. Ipse enim[313] est[314] panis[315] subcinericius in incarnatione; reversatus in resurrectione; triticeus in nude divinitatis[316] ostentatione. Panis subcinericius est 'deus homo'. Quid enim, ut[317] ait Bernardus, est deus nisi vita et panis? Quid[318] est homo[319] nisi[320] pulvis et cinis? Et[321] quid est[322] in[323] una[324] persona deus latens et homo patens nisi panis subcinericius? Panis ergo[325] subcinericius est panis[326] sub cinere, deus latens sub[327] homine, et hoc erat Christus ante resurrectionem. Panis reversatus[328] est[329] 'homo

Regarding the second understanding of bread, namely, the eucharistic bread, we read in John 6: *I am the bread of life*,[33] etc. Wherefore Jerome wrote on Matthew: "When we ask that God might assign bread to us, we seek that bread which says in the Gospel: *I am the bread of life*, etc."[34] That bread is called supersubstantial which according to Jerome is called in Greek 'epusyon', which some interpret as 'distinguished' or 'exceptional'.[35] And truly that blessed bread is for us the height of distinguishedness and exceptional beyond all others, for there is no nation so great that it has gods related to it as our Lord God is present with us. Certainly this is clear because we eat that most holy bread, by which we are united with God, on account of which it is called the sacrament of unity. Wherefore John 6 says: *Who eats my flesh*, etc. *remains in me and I in them*.[36] It is therefore called 'daily bread', because it is to be eaten daily, that is, every day.[37] Wherefore Augustine in his book *On the Words of the Lord* said: "receive daily what is offered to you daily; live life so that you might merit to receive it daily. Who does not deserve to receive it daily will not deserve to receive it in a year's time. If, therefore, that bread is daily bread, why do you only take it after a year?" Augustine further added in the same work: "If you receive it daily, daily is for you today and Christ rises from the dead for you each day, for today is when Christ rises from the dead."[38] We seek this bread to be given to us today, that is, in our present life, as explained above, because in the life to come we will not receive Christ hidden under the accidents of the sacrament, but, according to the Apostle, *we who with unveiled faces contemplate the Lord's glory, will be transformed into his image from clarity into even greater clarity, as if by Spirit of the Lord*, 2 Corinthians 3.[39]

Concerning the third understanding of bread, namely heavenly bread or the bread of glory, Luke 14 says: *Blessed is he who will eat bread in the kingdom of God*.[40] And it is well said that that blessed enjoyment is called 'bread', because just as corporeal bread satisfies the appetite of the one eating it, so does that enjoyment satisfy the desire of the one contemplating it, as is said in the Psalms: *I will be fulfilled when your glory appears*.[41] There we will not only rest in the vision of the divinity but will also be fed by the delicious contemplation of humanity in Christ.[42]

On this basis it should be known that according to Bernard Christ is called bread in a three-fold way, for he is himself the prepared bread in his incarnation, the reserved bread in his resurrection, and the wheat bread in the pure presentation of his divinity. Prepared bread is the 'God-man', for what, as Bernard said, is God unless life and bread? What is man except dust and ashes? And what is it when God is hidden in a person who appears to be simply a man except prepared bread? Prepared bread therefore is bread 'under ashes', God hidden within man, and this was Christ before his resurrection.[43]

deus', scilicet post resurrectionem. Prius enim quasi[330] cinis panem occultavit,[331] post vero quasi panis cinerem celavit. Quando enim Christus habuit corpus glorificatum tunc humanitas quasi in eo[332] celata fuit. Unde ante passionem humanitas in eo[333] manifesta fuit,[334] divinitas latebat. Et ideo tunc per miracula et predicationem divinitatem[335] probare et mundo ostendere oportebat. Post resurrectionem vero magis probationi[336] humanitatis[337] quam divinitatis[338] insistebat. Unde tunc tactu, esu et multis aliis argumentis se verum[339] esse[340] hominem[341] probabat.[342] Panis triticeus sine omni cinere est,[343] sine furfure,[344] sine enigmate, sed de simula[345] purissima. Hec est nuda deitas.[346] Hic panis est deus, nam secundum Bernardum, devotioni[347] non[348] sufficit semel[349] dicere 'deus'; vox enim devota est 'deus,[350] deus meus', hoc faciat michi deus, et hoc[351] addat[352] ut sit 'deus,[353] deus meus'.[354] Quid enim proderit michi deus,[355] si[356] non[357] sit deus meus? Christus ergo[358] est panis beatorum subcinericius[359] in quantum reficit eos sue[360] humanitatis passibilitate, que ibi apparet in cicatricum ostentatione. Hec est[361] enim[362] una causarum quare dominus noster cicatrices in suo corpore reservaverit,[363] ut videlicet[364] beati de eis[365] habeant gaudium singulare.

Est autem[366] panis reversatus[367] in quantum reficit eos eiusdem humanitatis glorificatione et sublimatione. Ex hoc nempe beati[368] habent gaudium singulare, quod vident suam[369] naturam tanta claritate dotatam[370] et sublimatam[371] ac idemptitate suppositi verbi quasi in sinu trinitatis collocatam.[372] Unde Bernardus[373] super Cantica: plenum est suavitatis dulcedine videre ibi hominem et[374] hominis conditorem.[375]

Est propterea panis triticeus, in quantum ipsos reficit nude divinitatis ostentatione, quam[376] in ipso clare et[377] nude[378] feliciter contemplantur. Et sic sive ingrediantur[379] per divinitatis contemplationem,[380] sive egrediantur[381] per humanitatis intuitionem[382] semper[383] pascua invenient[384] per[385] nove dulcedinis degustationem. De quibus pascuis dicit Gregorius: que sunt illa pascua[386] nisi interna semper virentis[387] paradisi gaudia? Pascua namque electorum[388] sunt presens vultus dei, qui dum[389] sine defectu conspicitur,[390] sine[391] fine mens cibo[392] satiatur. Iste igitur[393] glorisosus panis[394] dicitur supersubstantialis, quia super omnes substantias est et omnes superat creaturas. Dicitur etiam cottidianus, quia cottidie, id est eternaliter, ipso reficiemur[395] et nec uno momento sine ipso subsistere possumus. Hunc panem petimus nobis dari hodie[396] dupliciter: uno modo 'hodie', id est in presenti vita per quandam

Reserved bread is 'Man-God', namely Christ after his resurrection. For first it is as if ash conceals the bread, but afterwards it is as if bread hides the ashes, for when Christ had his glorified body then it was as if his humanity had been hidden within it. Wherefore before his passion, his humanity was manifest and his divinity lay hidden, and therefore during that time he had to prove his divinity and show it to the world by preaching and doing miracles, after his resurrection he had to be more insistent on proving his humanity than his divinity. Thus he then proved that he was truly human by touching, eating, and with a good deal of other evidence. Wheat bread is bread without ashes, without chaff, without any hiddenness, but is bread made of the purest wheat flour. This is pure deity. This bread is God, for according to Bernard, "it does not suffice for the devout man to say simply 'God', for the expression of the devout is 'God, my God,' so that when we pray 'God may you do this for me' this is added so that it might be 'God, my God', for what does God profit me if God is not my God?" Christ therefore is the prepared bread of the blessed in so far as he restores those by the suffering quality of his own humanity, which appears there in the presentation of the wheat, for this is one of the causes whereby our Lord reserves wheat in his own body, so that from it the blessed might have a singular joy.

Christ, however, is the reserved bread in so far as he restores those by the glorification and sublimation of his own humanity, from which certainly the blessed have a singular joy because they see Christ's own nature offered with such clarity and brought together in the identity of the Word as if in the very midst of the Trinity. Wherefore Bernard wrote on the Song of Songs: "it is full of the sweetness of sweetness to see there man, the creator of man."[44]

It is wheat bread on account of it restoring those to the extent possible by the plain presentation of divinity, which they happily contemplate in itself clearly and unadorned. And thus whether they enter in through the contemplation of divinity, or go out through the intuition of humanity they always find pasturing through the taste of a new sweetness. Concerning this pasturing Gregory said: "what is that pasturing except a never ceasing internal joy of the foliage of paradise?"[45] For the pastures of the elect are the presence of God's face; while it is gazed upon without defect, without end, the mind is satiated with food. Therefore that most glorious bread is called 'supersubstantial', because it is a substance above all others and reigns supreme over all creatures; it is likewise called 'daily', because daily, that is eternally, we are restored by it, and we are not able to remain standing spiritually for a moment without it.[46] We ask that this bread of pure divinity be given to us today with a two-fold understanding of the word 'today'. In one way, we pray that this bread of pure divinity be given to us 'today' in this present life by means of a certain foretaste; in another way,

pregustationem; alio modo 'hodie', id est in eternitate per beatam fruitionem. Dicamus ergo *panem nostrum cottidianum*, materialem, doctrinalem, sacramentalem, celestem, *da nobis hodie*, in ista die, in vita presenti, in eternitate.[397]

Per hanc petitionem excluditur gula, quod planum est ex dictis[398] si exponatur de pane materiali quia[399] omnes species gule per eam resecantur, ut visum est. Exponendo etiam de pane spirituali, dicere possumus quod gula tria mala facit per que impedit hominem a sumptione[400] triplicis[401] panis predicti. Nam gula intellectum obumbrat et hebetat;[402] diabolum[403] hospitium preparat; ad infernum hominem[404] deducit et devorat.[405] Propter primum gula[406] impedit verbi dei intellectionem;[407] propter secundum[408] impedit[409] eucharistie sumptionem; propter tertium[410] impedit glorie fruitionem. Primum patet in Psalmo: *Turbati sunt et moti sunt sicut ebrius*[411] *et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est*.[412] Per ebrietatem enim et crapulam intellectus hominis turbatur et confunditur[413] et extra naturalem perspicaciam[414] movetur et per consequens omnis sapientia et scientia eius devoratur, id est devorando[415] perditur. Per hoc autem gula impedit nos a sumptione primi panis puta a verbi dei intellectione, immo inducit eius oblivionem. Unde Osee tertio decimo:[416] *saturati sunt et levaverunt cor suum et obliti sunt mei*.[417] Secundum[418] patet Matthei septimo,[419] ubi legio demonum dicebat: *Mitte nos in porcos*. Ex quo datur intelligi quod diabolus libenter habitat[420] in gulosis, qui per porcos intelliguntur. Propter quod gula impedit eucharistie perceptionem.[421] Christus enim cum diabolo in eodem hospitio habitare dedignatur, *que*[422] *enim conventio Christi ad Belial*, secunde[423] Corinthiorum sexto. Tertium[424] patet Luce sexto decimo[425] de divite epulone[426] *qui sepultus est in inferno*. Et per hoc gula impedit nos a perceptione tertii[427] panis, scilicet glorie celestis, quod patet cum sint mansiones opposite infernum[428] et celum. Unde et[429] propter gulam homo de paradiso est eiectus.

Introducitur autem[430] per hanc petitionem de virtutibus fortitudo, cuius est in adversis comfortare. Unde bene per panem signatur,[431] quia *panis cor hominis confirmat*, ut[432] dicitur in Psalmo.[433] Hanc[434] fortitudinem introducit triplex[435] panis spiritualis. Primo, panis intelligentie. Unde postquam dixit sapiens Ecclesiastici quinto decimo:[436] *Cibabit*[437] *illum panem*[438] *vite et*

'today' means that we pray that this bread of pure divinity be given to us in eternity through blessed fruition. When therefore we pray *our daily bread* we mean material bread, doctrinal bread, sacramental bread and heavenly bread, and when we pray *Give us this day*, we mean in this very day in this present life, and in eternity.[47]

Through this petition gluttony is excluded, which is clear from what has been said when 'bread' here is interpreted as material bread, since all types of gluttony are moderated by this petition as seen above. Interpreting 'bread' as spiritual bread we are able to say that gluttony works three evils by which it impedes man from receiving the three-fold bread as described above, for gluttony obscures and weakens the intellect, prepares a dwelling place for the devil, and leads man to hell and devours him. With respect to the first evil, gluttony impedes the understanding of the word of God; with respect to the second, it impedes taking the eucharist; and with respect to the third, it impedes the enjoyment of glory. The first is clear from what is said in the Psalm: *They were agitated and moved about as a drunken man and all their wisdom was gobbled up*,[48] for through drunkenness and intoxication man's understanding is agitated and confused and is moved beyond the pale of natural awareness and consequently all his wisdom and knowledge is devoured, that is, in being devoured, it is lost. Through this however gluttony impedes us from eating the first bread, namely it impedes us from understanding the word of God, or even more so, it leads one's understanding into oblivion. Wherefore Hosea 13: *they are over-filled and they lift up their heart and for me they have been assigned to oblivion*.[49] With respect to the second we read in Matthew 8 where the legion of demons said: *Send us into the pigs*.[50] From which it is given to be understood that the devil freely lives in the gluttonous, who are understood as the pigs, on account of which gluttony impedes the reception of the eucharist, for Christ refuses to debase himself to stay in the same dwelling with the devil, *for what relationship is there between Christ and Belial?*, as we read in 2 Corithinians 6.[51] With respect to the third we read in Luke 16 of the rich man *who was buried and in hell*,[52] and in this way gluttony impedes us from receiving the third bread, namely, the bread of heavenly glory, which is obvious as there are opposing mansions in heaven and in hell. Wherefore even on account of gluttony, man was thrown out of paradise.

Of the fruits of the Holy Spirit, fortitude is the fruit that is introduced in this petition, for it is fortitude that comforts in adversities, wherefore it is well signified by 'bread', because *bread strengthens the heart of man*, as is said in the Psalm.[53] The three-fold spiritual bread introduces this fortitude. In the first place is the bread of understanding, wherefore after the wise man said in Ecclesiasticus 15: *the bread of life and understanding*, immediately he added, *it*

intellectus,[439] statim subdit,[440] *firmabitur in illo et non flectetur*. In cuius etiam figura legitur Maccabeorum[441] quinto decimo de Iuda quod[442] *armavit*[443] socios suos *non* in[444] *clypeo* vel[445] *hasta sed sermonibus optimis*.[446] Secundo,[447] comfortat etiam[448] panis eucharistie, quod figuratum[449] est in pane subcinericio. In cuius fortitudine Helias *ambulavit*[450] *quadragenta diebus*[451] *et quadragenta noctibus*[452] *usque ad montem dei Oreb*, ut legitur tertii Regum undecimo.[453] Panis inquam sacramentalis aptissime figuratus[454] est per panem subcinericium, quia corpus Christi[455] latet sub accidentibus alienis sicut ibi panis sub cinere.[456] In fortitudine istius panis[457] ambulamus per decalogum preceptorum et quaternarium perfectionis[458] evangelice tam inter prospera, que per diem, quam[459] inter[460] adversa, que per noctem, intelliguntur donec perveniamus ad montem dei Oreb[461] celsitudinem, id est,[462] celestis beatitudinis.[463] Tertio,[464] causat in nobis fortitudinem panis vite eterne, etiam[465] sola spe hic gustatus. Unde Isaie trigesimo:[466] *In silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra*.

De donis etiam introducitur hic donum fortitudinis. Unde[467] dicit[468] Glossa super Mattheum: cum panis spiritualis petitur, spiritus fortitudinis postulatur quo esuries iustitie ut ad saturitatem pertingat at[469] fulcitur. Correspondet autem hoc donum triplici[470] pane[471] eodem[472] modo, quo de virtute fortintinis dictum est. Qualiter autem differat[473] fortitudo ut[474] est virtus et ut est donum, patere potest[475] ex his que dicentur infra ante finem opusculi ante Amen.

De beatitudinibus[476] vero[477] introducitur per hanc petitionem 'esuries iustitie', ut patet per Glossam iam dictam de dono fortitudinis. Est autem esuries et sitis hic vehemens desiderium boni, quia secundum Hieronymum: Non satis est velle iustitiam nisi iustitie patiamur famem, ut sic sub hoc exemplo numquam nos[478] satis[479] iustos[480] et[481] semper esurire iustitie opera intelligamus.[482] Simile[483] dicit Bernardus in epistola: Numquam iustus arbitratur se comprehendisse. Numquam dicit satis est, sed semper esurit[484] sititque iustitiam. Ita ut si semper viveret semper[485] quantum in se est[486] iustior esse contenderet. Et accipitur[487] hic iustitia generaliter secundum quod ab ea[488] dicitur homo iustus propter opera virtuosa. Sic itaque esurientes[489] iustitiam merentur accipere triplicem[490] panem spiritualem[491] predictam, panem quidem verbi[492] dei. Unde ipsa[493] sapientia dicit Ecclesiastici vicesimo quarto: *Qui edunt me adhuc esurient*.[494] Anima enim esuriens devota verbum[495] dei numquam satiabitur in hac vita, sed quanto magis[496] edit, tanto plus esurit, et quanto[497] ferventius esurit, tanto habundantius edit.[498] Item esurientes

is steady in him and does not waver.[54] This then is the prefiguration of what is read in Maccabees 15 about Juda when he *armed* his associates *not* with *shields* and *spears*, *but with the best of words*.[55] In the second place is the bread of the eucharist, which comforts, a prefiguring of which is prepared bread, in the fortitude of which Elijah *walked for forty days and forty nights all the way to Mount Oreb, the Mountain of God*, as is read in 3 Kings 19.[56] The sacramental bread is most aptly prefigured by prepared bread because the body of Christ lies hidden under other accidents, just as prepared bread under ashes. In this fortitude of that bread we walk through the Ten Commandments and the four-fold evangelical perfections as much during times of prosperity, understood here as signified by the forty days, as in times of adversity, signified by the forty nights, until we arrive at Mount Oreb, the heavenly Mount of God, which is heavenly blessedness. In the third place, the bread of eternal life causes fortitude in us, even though here in this life we can only taste it in hope. Wherefore Isaiah 30 states: *Your fortitude will be in silence and hope*.[57]

From the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the gift of fortitude is introduced here in this petition. Wherefore the Gloss on Matthew says: "when spiritual bread is sought, the spirit of fortitude is prayed for by which the hunger for justice is likewise supported so that it might lead to complete satisfaction."[58] This gift corresponds to the three-fold bread in the same way as was explained regarding the virtue of fortitude. How fortitude as a virtue and as a gift differ, however, is able to be made clear from those things that will be discussed below before the end of this work before the *Amen*.

From the beatitudes is introduced through this petition the beatitude of being hungry for justice, as is clear from the Gloss already cited concerning the gift of fortitude. Being hungry and thirsty here is a deep desire for the good, because according to Jerome, "to wish for justice is not sufficient except when we suffer a lack of justice, so that we thus understand in this example that we are never sufficiently just and are always hungry for works of justice."[59] Similarly Bernard said in a letter: "The just man never thinks that he understands himself as being just; he never says that his justice is sufficient, but always hungers and thirsts for justice, so if he were to live forever, he would for ever continue with everything in him to strive to be even more just."[60] And here justice is taken generally in the sense of that according to which a man is said to be just based on virtuous works. Thus those who hunger for justice merit to receive the three-fold spiritual bread as discussed above. They receive the bread certainly of the word of God, wherefore the wise man said in Ecclesiasticus 24: *Those who eat me are still hungry*,[61] for the devoted soul hungering for the word of God will never be filled in this life, but the more he eats, the hungrier he becomes, and the more fervently he eats, the more abundantly he eats.

accipiunt panem eucharistie. Unde Psalmi:[499] *dat escam esurientibus*, id est deus[500] dat corpus suum ferventer desiderantibus, cuius figura precessit in manna, quod filiis Israel in deserto esurientibus datum fuit,[501] ut habetur[502] Exodi sexto decimo.[503] Et siquidem nulla sacramenta prestantur in vitis, iuxta illud Matthei septimo:[504] *Nolite sanctum dare canibus* etc.,[505] precipue hoc benedictum[506] sacramentum, nemo nisi ferventer desiderans[507] accipere debet.[508] Et quanto fuerit desiderium ferventius,[509] tanto quis percipit dignius et fructuosius. Item, taliter esurientes sumunt panem vite eterne, Luce primo: *Esurientes implevit bonis* in vita scilicet eterna, ubi est omnium[510] habundanti[511] bonorum et ubi[512] implebitur desiderium nostrum[513] omnibus bonis. Ut[514] dicit Hugo in libro[515] *De triplici meditatione*: *Ostendam tibi* inquit[516] Moyses[517] *omne bonum*, omne bonum ipse[518] deus est, et qui habet deum omne bonum habet[519] et[520] tunc satiabitur ista esuries, iuxta illud Psalmi:[521] *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*.[522] Propter quod convenienter huic beatitudini saturitas respondet[523] pro premio, in qua[524] impletio desideriorum[525] significatur,[526] quam[527] adimpletionem propheta expectit[528] cum dicebat: *Adimplebis me letitia cum vultu tuo*.[529] Quod verbum pertractans[530] Bernardus dicit: hic quidem est gustus, sed ibi est adimpletio,[531] cum erit[532] deus[533] omnia in omnibus.

De fructibus per hanc petitionem introducitur modestia, cuius est in omnibus exterioribus[534] actionibus et rebus modum servare. Nam per istam petitionem omnis[535] immoderatus usus rerum[536] temporalium resectatur, secundum primam expositionem et patet.[537]

Thus those hungering for justice receive the bread of the eucharist, wherefore the Psalm says: *he gives food to those who are hungry*,[62] that is, God gives his own body to those who fervently desire it, which was prefigured in the manna which was given to the hungry sons of Israel in the desert, as described in Exodus 16.[63] And if indeed no sacrament is to be presented with defects, in keeping with Matthew 7: *Do not wish to give something holy to dogs*,[64] etc., and most of all not the blessed sacrament, no one should receive the blessed sacrament unless he fervently desires to do so, and as great as will have been the fervent desire, so worthily and fruitfully does he receive it. Further, those hungering for justice thus receive the bread of eternal life, as stated in Luke 1: *those hungry will be filled with goods*,[65] namely, in eternal life, where one finds an abundance of all good things and where our desire will be fulfilled with all good, as Hugo of St. Victor said in his book *On Three-fold Meditation*: "*I will show you*, Moses said, *all good*,[66] with all good being God Himself, and who has God has all good and then his hunger will be satisfied,"[67] in keeping with the Psalm: *I will be satisfied when your glory appears*.[68] On account of which, complete satisfaction conveniently corresponds to this beatitude as a reward, in which the fulfillment of desire is signified, and this fulfillment the prophet expected when he said: *you will fill me with the joy of seeing your face*.[69] In commenting on this verse Bernard said: "here in this life certainly is the foretaste, but there in eternal life will be the fulfillment, when God will be all in all."[70]

From the fruits of the Holy Spirit is introduced in this petition the fruit of modesty,[71] which is to serve moderation in all exterior actions and things, for through this petition all immoderate uses of temporal things is pruned away, as is clear.

Lectio septima

Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Hec quinta petitio convenienter sequitur premissam, quia ut dicit Cyprianus, dignum est, ut qui a deo pascitur, in deo vivat. In deo autem aliquis vivit quando[1] sine peccato vivit et[2] ideo post subsidium cibi petitur venia delicti;[3] vel aliter quia plerumque in usu cibi corporalis et aliarum rerum[4] ad nostram necessitatem ordinatarum[5] excedimus et peccavimus,[6] dicente Augustino decimo[7] *Confessionum*:[8] Et quis est, domine, qui[9] non aliquando[10] rapiatur[11] extra metas necessitatis? Ideo post petitionem cibi statim sequitur petitio de dimissione peccati.[12] Et habet hec particula duas partes, quia primo ponitur ipsa petitio, secundo adiungitur eius modus[13] et conditio cum dicitur *sicut et nos*;[14] quantum[15] ad continentiam petitionis dicitur *dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Debita vocantur hic peccata, et[16] ex[17] hoc elicitur quod quia omnes ad dicendum istam[18] orationem tenentur[19] nullum hominem a peccato esse immunem. Unde dicit Cyprianus: Ne quis sibi quasi innocens placeat et se extollendo plus[20] pereat, instruitur se peccare cottidie, dum pro peccatis cottidie[21] iubetur[22] orare.

Sed[23] dubitaret aliquis quomodo peccata possint dici debita. Cum enim debita sint que alicui debemus et solvere tenemur, peccata autem non possunt alicui deberi nec solvi, videtur[24] quod inconvenienter hic per debita intelligantur peccata.

Dicendum quod[25] pro tanto dicuntur[26] peccata[27] debita,[28] quia inde peccata contraximus, quia debita non solvimus, id est, quia non fecimus[29] quod debuimus et ob hoc iudici[30] penam debemus. Sicut ergo qui non solvit pecuniam creditori statuto termino dupliciter incurrit debitum ultra debitum pecunie, puta debitum culpe, ex eo quod non solvit per quod offendit creditorem, et debitum pene, quam debet iudici ex eo quod[31] contra iustitiam egit. Sic in proposito ex[32] eo quod non facimus[33] debitum nostrum illis quibus debemus, contrahimus duo mala scilicet peccatum et reatum: peccatum quantum ad culpam; reatum quantum ad penam,[34] que utraque nomine debiti[35] intelliguntur.[36] Ex quo patet quod potius[37] et melius dicitur hic 'debita nostra'[38] quam 'peccata',[39] quia plus petimus dicendo *dimitte nobis debita nostra*,[40] quia per hoc petimus[41] dimissionem culpe et pene, quam[42] si diceremus, 'dimitte nobis

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_010

Lecture 7

And Forgive Us Our Debts as We Forgive Our Debtors.[1] This fifth petition conveniently follows the previous one, because as Cyprian said, it is fitting "that he who is pastured by God, lives in God."[2] Someone, however, lives in God when he lives without sin and therefore after the subsidy of food, the pardon of our failures is sought,[3] or in other words, because we exceed in many ways in our use of food and other things ordained for our necessity, we also sin, in keeping with what Augustine said in book 10 of the *Confessions*: "And who is there, Lord, who is not at times taken up beyond the measures of necessity?"[4] Therefore after the petition for our daily bread, the petition concerning the forgiveness of sins immediately follows, and it has two primary parts, because first the asking itself is put forth, and then second, the mode and condition of the asking are added when we pray, *as we forgive our debtors*; with respect to the content of the petition we say, *forgive us our debts*. Here 'debts' are called sins. From this it follows that no one is immune from sin because everyone is required to say this prayer. Wherefore Cyprian said: "Lest anyone become even more fit for hell by holding himself up as an example, pleasing himself as if innocent, everyone is taught that he sins daily when he is held to pray daily for his sins."[5]

But here someone might doubt how sins are able to be called debts, for debts are those thing that we owe to someone else and are held to repay, sins, however, are not able to be owed to someone else, nor repayed. Thus it seems that it doesn't fit here to interpret debts as sins.

To this it should be said that sins are called debts to the extent that we sin when we do not pay our debts, that is, because we do not do what we ought and on this account we owe punishment to the judge. Just as, therefore, one who does not pay what he owes his creditor within the stipulated time incurs a two-fold debt beyond the debt of the money owed, namely, the debt of guilt, stemming from the fact that he did not pay his creditor, on acccount of which he offended him, and the debt of punishment, which he owes the judge stemming from the fact that he acted contrary to justice. Thus in the case that we do not meet our debts to those we owe we incur two evils, namely, sin and judgment; sin in so far as it relates to the guilt, and judgment in so far as it relates to punishment, both of which are understood here under the name of debts. From which it is clear that it is more powerful and better that here we say 'our debts' than 'sins', because we ask for more in saying *forgive us our debts*—because in praying *forgive us our debts* we seek the forgiveness of guilt and punishment—than we would were we to pray 'forgive us our sins', because

peccata nostra', quia nonnunquam[43] dimittitur peccatum[44] quantum ad culpam, remanente reatu quo[45] ad penam.

Ulterius quia dictum[46] est, quod inde peccata contrahimus quia debita nostra quibus debemus non solvimus, dubitaret aliquis quibus et que debita debeamus.[47] Propter quod est[48] sciendum quod aliquid debemus deo, aliquid[49] nobisipsis, et aliquid[50] proximis nostris.[51] Debemus deo religionem; nobisipsis[52] debitam gubernationem; proximis[53] mutuam dilectionem.

Debemus inquam[54] deo religionem, Levitici sexto decimo: *affligetis*[55] *animas vestras deo*[56] *religione perpetua*. Est autem sciendum, quod religio non accipitur hic pro statu religiosorum; sed est quedam virtus moralis, que est pars iustitie, ad quam virtutem pertinet deo cultum exhibere, et comprehendit sub se latriam.[57] Et actus huius virtutis sunt adoratio,[58] oratio, oblatio,[59] laus, votum, iuramentum et cetera talia,[60] que soli deo debentur. Et diffinitur[61] a Tulio in[62] secundo Rethorice sue sic: Religio est virtus que cuidam nature[63] quam divinam vocant, cultum cerimoniamque affert.[64] Et ex hac virtute per anthonomasyam dicuntur illi religiosi qui seipsos totos tamquam[65] holocaustum deo[66] offerunt perpetuo.[67] Unde dicta est religio[68] secundum Isidorum a religando eo quod ipsa nos religat deo.

Debemus etiam nobisipsis[69] debitam gubernationem. Quale autem sit debitum nostre gubernationis docet Apostolus Romanorum octavo: *debitores*, inquid, *sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus, si enim secundum carnem vixeritis moriemini, si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis vivetis*. Ex quo patet quod debitores sumus[70] non carni sed spiritui.[71] Ita quod spiritui[72] ex debito servire debemus quod quidem[73] facimus quando carnem spiritui subicimus, et secundum spiritum vivimus.[74] Et in[75] hoc est debitum quod[76] nobisipsis[77] debemus.

Debemus[78] tertio proximis nostris mutuam dilectionem. De hoc[79] debito dicit Apostolus Romanorum tertio decimo:[80] *Nemini quidquam debeatis nisi ut invicem diligatis*, ubi[81] Glossa, id est cetera ita solvite ut non[82] debeatis aliquid,[83] caritatem vero ita solvite[84] ut semper[85] debeatis. Sola enim caritas est que etiam reddita[86] semper detinet debitorem. Igitur quando[87] hec debita non solvimus faciendo unicuique quod sibi debemus,[88] sive deo, sive nobisipsis, sive[89] proximis nostris, ut dictum est, tunc debita, id est[90] peccata, contrahimus pro quibus penam debemus. Hec ergo debita[91] tam quoad culpam quam quoad penam dimitti nobis petimus dicendo *dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Debita inquam[92] nostra quecumque commissimus:[93] contra te; contra nosipsos; et[94] contra proximos nostros.

sometimes sin is forgiven with respect to guilt, but the judgment remains with respect to punishment.[6]

Furthermore, because it is said that we sin because we do not pay our debts to those whom we owe, some might question what it is we owe and to whom we owe it. On this account it should be known that we owe something to God, to ourselves, and to our neighbors.[7] We owe God religion; we owe ourselves governance; and we owe our neighbor reciprocal love.[8]

We owe God religion, in my opinion, in keeping with Leviticus 16: *you will discipline your souls with eternal religion owed to God*.[9] It should be known, though, that religion is not interpreted here as the state of being a religious, but it is a certain moral virtue, which is part of righteousness;[10] the worship of God pertains to this virtue, and it is understood under the term *latria*. The acts of this virtue are adoration, prayer, offering, praise, vows, oaths, and the like, which are owed to God alone, and which are defined by Cicero in the second book of his *Rhetoric* as follows: "Religion is a virtue which is ascribed to a certain nature as divine, consisting of worship and ceremony."[11] And based on this virtue through the rhetorical figure of antonomasia, that is, a characteristic substituting for a proper name, those religious are called by their name, who offer themselves to God continually as a perpetual sacrifice.[12] Wherefore 'religion', according to Isidore, is said to derive from 'being bound', in that religion is that which binds us to God.[13]

And then we owe ourselves governance. The Apostle teaches how the debt of our own self-governance is to be in Romans 8: *we are not*, he said, *debtors to our flesh so that we would live according to the flesh, for if we would live according to the flesh, we would die. If, however, you live in the spirit, you will have put to death the deeds of the flesh*.[14] From this it is clear that we are not debtors to the flesh, but to the spirit. Thus because we ought to serve the spirit to which we are indebted, which certainly we do when we subject our flesh to the spirit, we will then live according to the spirit. And in this is the debt that we owe ourselves.[15]

The third debt we owe is the debt of mutual love to our neighbors, about which debt the Apostle said in Romans 13: *we do not owe anything to anyone except that we love one another*,[16] to which to Gloss comments: pay all your other debts so that you might not owe anything but so pay your debt of love that you might always be in debt, for only love is that which always holds the debtor to pay back.[17] Therefore when we do not pay this debt by doing to each what is owed, either to God, to ourselves, or to our neighbors, as it is said, then we incur debts, that is, sins, for which we owe punishment. These debts, therefore, with respect to the guilt as much as with respect to the punishment, we seek to be forgiven in praying, *forgive us our debts*.[18] Our debts, I say, include whatever we bring about against God, against ourselves, and against our neighbors.[19]

Sequitur de modo et conditione[95] huic petitioni apposita, cum dicitur, *sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*.[96] Circa quod[97] contingit dubitari[98] multipliciter.[99] Et[100] primo, quare non est apposita similis conditio aliis petitionibus, verbi gratia ut diceretur, 'panem nostrum[101] da nobis[102] sicut et nos damus' et[103] 'libera nos a malo sicut et[104] nos alios liberamus', et huiusmodi?[105]

Ad hoc dicendum, quod ratio[106] est quia[107] in nostra potestate non est semper dare[108] vel[109] etiam[110] liberare[111] et[112] ideo ad[113] semper dare vel[114] liberare non[115] tenemur,[116] sicut ad[117] semper remittere.[118] Nec ita a nobis sunt temporalia, sicut malivolentia, propter quod ad dimittendam malivolentiam[119] quam contra proximum[120] gerimus, semper tenemur. Non sic autem ad dandum vel ad[121] liberandum[122] que concernunt[123] aliqua temporalia et actus extrinsecus,[124] quare[125] etc.

Secunda dubitatio est quia videtur quod nostrum non sit[126] dimittere debitoribus nostris, quia solus deus dimittit peccata, non ergo nostrum est hoc.[127]

Respondeo:[128] in lesione[129] iniusta alterius[130] sunt duo[131] inimicitia:[132] et rancor, quem[133] lesus[134] concipit contra ledentem;[135] et culpa, quam ledens committit contra deum. Primum potest[136] et debet dimittere homo lesus;[137] secundum autem[138] solus deus habet dimittere.

Tertio, dubitatur utrum homo licite possit repetere[139] debitum suum, vel etiam exigere emendam de iniuria sibi facta? Et videtur quod non, quia si tenetur homo debitori dimittere debitum, ergo videtur quod ille[140] peccet qui repetit debitum;[141] et similiter ille[142] qui petit[143] emendam super iniuria[144] sibi facta.[145]

Respondendum[146] secundum Augustinum:[147] non loquitur hic[148] de debito pecunie vel iustitie exigende, sed[149] rancoris et[150] inimicitie[151] reinferende;[152] peccatum quidem[153] quod commissum est[154] in nos, dimittere debemus. Pecuniam autem[155] et iustitiam dimittere non tenemur, cum quis[156] habet, unde[157] solvat. Unde dicit Augustinus: Peccat in te qui[158] pecuniam tibi debitam cum habeat unde reddere,[159] non redderit,[160] quod[161] peccatum si non dimiseris non[162] potes[163] dicere, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*[164] etc.[165]

Quarto, dubitaret aliquis utrum ille[166] qui[167] servando rancorem dicit[168] hanc orationem[169] peccet? Et videtur quod sic, quia mentitur cum dicit dimittimus debitoribus[170] et non dimittit.[171] Item, quia[172] petit contra se quod patet a destructione[173] consequentis, dimitte nobis si[174] dimittimus, sed[175] nos[176] non dimittimus, ergo non[177] dimitte nobis.

The second part of this petition concerning the mode and condition follows when we say, *just as we forgive our debtors*, with respect to which there are many questions. First, why is there not a similar condition added to the other petitions, for example, so that we might say, "give us our bread just as we give," and "deliver us from evil just as we deliver others," and the like?

To this it should be said that the reason is because it is not always in our power to give or to free and therefore we are not held always to give or to free, as we are always held to forgive. This is not the case, though, with respect to temporal things within our own power, as is, for example, bad will. Consequently, we are always held to give or to free the bad will that we have against our neighbor, which is not the case with respect to giving or freeing those things that concern other temporal issues and are extrinsic acts. Wherefore, we are not always held to give or to free in all instances.

A second question arises because it seems that it is not for us to forgive our debtors because only God can forgive sins, and therefore this is not our responsibility.

I respond as follows: in the unjust injury of another there are two wrongs done: both the ill will which the injured party has against the one committing the injury, and the guilt against God the one committing the injury contracts. The first the injured person is able and is held to forgive; the second, however, only God can forgive.[20]

Third, it is questioned whether man is licitly able to reclaim what is owed him, or even to seek redress for the injury done to him? And it seems that he is not, because if one is held to forgive one's debtor the debt, it would seem therefore that one would sin who sought compensation for the debt, and similiarly one would sin who sought recompense for the injury done to him.

This question should be answered according to Augustine: the issue here is not one concerning the debt of money or the justice to be done, but the ill will and hostility involved. We ought to forgive, certainly, the sin that is committed against us; we are not, however, held to forgive the money and justice owed us when our debtor has the means to repay. Wherefore Augustine said: "He sins against you who has the money he owes you to be able to repay you and does not repay you, which is a sin that if you do not forgive you are not able to say *forgive us our debts* etc."[21]

Fourth, some one might question whether he who allows his ill will to fester while saying this prayer sins? And it would seem the he would, because he would be lying when he said *we forgive our debtors* and he does not forgive his. Further, it would seem that he would sin because he would be praying against himself, which is clear from the destruction of the consequence, as follows: forgive us if we forgive, but we do not forgive, therefore do not forgive us.

Respondeo[178] talis: aut loquitur in persona ecclesie et sic non peccat scilicet[179] novo peccato, licet peccet rancorem servando quod etiam[180] peccatum aggravatur pertinaciter in eo perseverando,[181] nec[182] tamen remissionem impetrat;[183] aut[184] in persona propria. Et tunc aut[185] loquitur advertendo et intelligendo[186] actualiter de facto remissionis,[187] ut sit sensus: dimitte nobis sicut[188] ego dimitto de facto huic debitori meo,[189] qui talem iniuriam michi[190] fecit. Et tunc certum est quod peccat cum[191] quia mentitur, cum etiam quia[192] petit contra se ut dictum est in arguendo.[193] Aut intendit[194] de iure remissionis, ut sit sensus: dimitte nobis sicut et nos dimittimus,[195] id est, de iure dimittere debemus. Et sic non peccat orationem dicendo quia non mentitur, nec petit contra se, licet peccet rancorem tenendo, nec etiam[196] talis[197] remissionem impetrat, quia preceptum[198] Christi de iniuria remittenda[199] non servat.[200] Dicitur enim[201] infra[202] Matthei sexto statim post presentem orationem: *si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater vester celestis*[203] *dimittet vobis peccata vestra*. Unde[204] dicit[205] Cyprianus: Excusatio tibi nulla est in die iudicii, cum secundum tuam sententiam iudiceris et quod feceris hoc[206] ipse patiaris.[207]

Quidam etiam[208] volentes predicta[209] duo evitare,[210] videlicet ne mentiuntur,[211] nec[212] contra se petant, mutant[213] verba dicentes[214] sic: dimitte nobis debita nostra,[215] melius quam nos[216] dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Sed licet per hanc formam verborum evadant illa duo, quia nec mentiuntur nec contra se petunt,[217] non[218] tamen impetrant[219] eadem oratione[220] iam dicta.[221] Et nichilominus preter hoc quod tales contra dei preceptum rancorem scienter[222] et pertinaciter[223] retinent,[224] ex quo grave peccatum non est[225] dubium[226] eos incurrere,[227] ut[228] dictum est. Etiam ex alio divinam offensam videntur incidere quia formam verborum a magistro immutabilis veritatis traditam presumunt corrigere et[229] temere[230] immutare.[231] Ad hoc accedit imprecatio[232] Iohannis Apocalypsis ultimo: *Si quis apposuerit ad hec*[233] *apponet deus super illum plagas* etc.[234] *Et si*[235] *quis*[236] *diminuerit de verbis his auferet deus partem eius*[237] *de libro vite*. Et si hoc de verbis discipuli, quid[238] de verbis magistri? Ut ergo oratio sit efficax et impetrativa, homo debet suis debitoribus de facto dimittere et ex corde.

Distinguendum tamen est inter perfectum et imperfectum.[239] Perfectus enim debet etiam[240] non petenti[241] veniam[242] omnimode[243] indulgere;

I respond thus: either it is said in the context of the whole Church, and thus one would not sin, namely, one would not commit a new sin, though forgiveness would not be received, yet one would sin in holding onto one's ill will which could make the sin even worse by pertinaciously holding onto one's ill will. Or it is said with respect to the invidual praying for himself, and then either he says the prayer by directing the prayer and the understanding in this case to the actual deed of forgiveness, so that the sense would be: "forgive us just as I in fact forgive my debtor, who did such damage to me", and then it is certain that he sins when he prays this prayer because he lies, since he would be praying against himself, as stated in the argument given above; or he intends the prayer with regard to the legal state of forgiveness, so that the sense would be: "forgive us just as even we forgive", that is as we ought to forgive according to the law, and in this case he would not sin in saying the prayer because he would not be lying, nor praying against himself, although he would sin in holding onto his ill will, nor would the forgiveness of his sin be obtained, because he would not be keeping the commandment of Christ regarding the forgiveness of injuries committed against us, for below in Matthew 6 immediately after the present prayer we read: *if you do not forgive men their sins, neither will your heavenly father forgive you your sins*.[22] Wherefore Cyprian said: "there will be no excuse for you on the day of judgment, when you will be judged according to the sentences you have given and what you have done, this you will suffer."[23]

Some however, wanting to avoid the two cases mentioned here above, namely, that we might not lie in saying the prayer, nor pray against ourselves, change the words, saying thus: "forgive us our debts better than we forgive our debtors." But although with this form of the words they avoid those two problems, because they neither lie nor pray against themselves, they though do not receive forgiveness in that prayer, as already stated. Nevertheless, in addition to thus knowingly and pertinaciously holding onto their ill will against God's commands, on account of which there is no doubt that they sin gravely, as was said, they also seem to fall into offending God on another basis, because they presume to correct and rashly change the form of the words of immutable truth handed down by the Master.[24] To this we find the warning of the last chapter of the Apocalypse of John: *If anyone adds to this, God will add to him those plagues*, etc. *And if anyone delete any of these words, God will delete his name from the book of life*.[25] And if this is so with regard to the words of the disciple, what would be the case with regard to the words of the Master? So that, therefore, this prayer might be efficacious and succcessful, one ought to forgive his debtors in fact and from his heart.

A distinction should be made, however, between 'perfect' and 'imperfect'. The perfect man should in all ways bestow pardon even on one not seeking it;

imperfectus autem[244] tenetur quidem[245] rancorem de corde[246] deponere, sed non tenetur satisfactionem debitam condonare. Nec pretermittendum est quod sunt quedam culpe in quibus culpa est relaxare vindictam, ut dicit Innocentius. Et ideo licet peccatum in nos teneamur dimittere, peccatum tamen in deum vel in[247] proximum debemus punire[248] quantum[249] nostra[250] interest.

Quinto, dubitaret aliquis quare non dixit,[251] 'dimitte nobis[252] et tunc nos[253] dimittemus', ita ut prius nobis deus dimitteret[254] et postea nos debitoribus nostris?

Ad hoc dicunt quidam[255] volentes ita[256] intelligi,[257] *dimitte nobis debita nostra*[258] etc.,[259] id est[260] sic:[261] 'dimitte nobis debita nostra ut et nos dimittamus[262] debitoribus nostris'.[263] Sed hic[264] intellectus non est secundum intentionem auctoris, quod patet per hoc, quod post[265] subiungitur: *si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet vobis*[266] *pater*[267] *celestis peccata vestra; si autem non dimiseritis hominibus*,[268] *nec pater vester*[269] *celestis*[270] *dimittet*[271] *peccata vestra*.[272] Aliter ergo[273] respondet Chrysostomus, dicens:[274] Scit deus homines esse mendaces quoniam etsi acceperunt[275] remissionem peccati suiipsi[276] suis debitoribus[277] non dimittunt.[278] Ideo sic dicit ut prius dimittamus,[279] et postea petamus[280] dimissionem, et per hec[281] omnia[282] patet ad singula obiecta.

Per hanc petitionem excluditur ira, que rancorem non dimittit nec alicui debitum reddit, dicitur enim Iacobi primo: *ira viri iustitiam*[283] *non operatur*. Iustum autem est reddere unicuique debitum suum.[284] Primo enim[285] ira non reddit debitum[286] deo, immo usurpat sibi illud[287] quod dei est, scilicet[288] vindictam peccati; dicit enim dominus per prophetam: *Michi vindictam et ego retribuam*. Sed per iram homo vindicat se[289] cum ipsa[290] secundum propriam sui[291] rationem sit[292] appetitus vindicte.[293] Secundo, non reddit debitum spiritui quia ponitur inter opera carnis, Galatarum quinto.[294] Tertio, proximo non reddit debitum immo ipsum provocat et ledit quia *vir iracundus et*[295] *provocat*[296] *rixas*, ut dicitur[297] Proverbiorum[298] vicesimo nono.[299] Hec[300] et multa alia mala de ira[301] ponit Gregorius[302] quinto libro *Moralium*: Per iram, inquid, spiritus sancti splendor excutitur qui super humilem et quietem[303] requiescere[304] dicitur,[305] quia[306] cum ira quietem menti[307] subtrahit suam spiritui sancto habitationem claudit. Per iram iustitia relinquitur,[308] quia dum[309] perturbata mens iudicium sine ratione exasperat omne quod furor suggerit,[310] rectum[311] putat. Per iram lux veritatis[312] amittitur, quia cum[313] menti iracundia confusionis tenebras incutit,[314] huic deus radium sue congregationis[315] abscondit. Per iram gratia[316] vite socialis[317] amittitur, quia qui se ex humana ratione

the imperfect man however is certainly held to put ill will out of his heart, but is not held to pardon the satisfaction owed him.[26] Nor should it be passed over that there are certain guilts in which lessening the retribution itself would be culpable, as Innocent said.[27] And therefore although we are held to forgive sin against us, we ought to avenge sin against God or against our neighbor to the extent we are able.[28]

Fifthly, someone might question why we do not say, "forgive us, and then we will forgive," so that thus God would first forgive us, and then afterwards we would forgive our debtors?

To this it should be said that some, in saying the prayer, want *forgive us our debts*, etc. to be so understood that it would have the following meaning: "forgive us our debts so that we might forgive our debtors." But this understanding is not in keeping with the intention of the author of the prayer, which is clear through what is added to it at the end: *if you forgive men their sins, your heavenly Father will forgive your sins; if, however, you do not forgive others, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your sins*.[29] Similarly Chrysostom replied: "God knows that men are liars, since although they accept the forgiveness of their own sin, they do not forgive their debtors. Thus he said that first we forgive and thereafter we seek the forgiveness of our sin."[30] And this clearly replies to all the questions.[31]

Through this petition the vice of anger is excluded, for anger does not release ill will, nor does it repay a debt owed to another, as is said in James 1: *anger does not bring about justice in a man*.[32] It is just, however, to pay back one's debts. First, anger does not repay its debt to God, and even more so it usurps for itself what is God's, namely, the punishment of sin, for the Lord said through the prophet: *vengence is mine, I will repay*,[33] but through anger, man seeks to vindicate himself, for anger, according to its own rationale, is a desire for vengence. Second, anger does not repay its debt to the spirit, because it is placed among the works of the flesh, as seen in Galatians 5.[34] Third, anger does not repay its debt to its neighbor, and even more so it provokes and injures its neighbor because *an angry man also brings about quarrels*, as is said in Proverbs 29.[35] Gregory listed these and many other evils regarding anger in book five of his *Moralia*: "Through anger," he said, "the splendor of the Holy Spirit, which is said to rest over the humble and the still, is cast out because anger takes away stillness from the mind and closes up the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit. Through anger, justice is lost, because when a perturbed mind exercises judgment without reason, it works up all that fury suggests, considering it to be right. Through anger the light of truth is lost, because when wrath instills the darkness of confusion in the mind, God hides the enlightening rays of his own congregation therefrom. Through anger the grace of social life is lost, because

non temperat necesse est ut bestialiter vivat. Per iram mansuetudo amittitur. Per iram concordia rumpitur, et multa alia mala per ipsam generantur, secundum Gregorium.

Introducitur autem hic virtus iustitie cuius est reddere unicuique debitum suum. Et hec est eius[318] propria ratio prout describitur et[319] a philosophis et a[320] iurisperitis.[321] Reddit autem iustitia triplex debitum predictum prout[322] pulchre conprehendit Anselmus in libro *Cur deus homo*: Iustitia, inquid, est animi libertas tribuens[323] unicuique secundum propriam dignitatem:[324] deo obedientiam, sibi[325] sanctimoniam, maiori reverentiam, pari concordiam,[326] minori disciplinam.

De donis introducitur hic scientia, quia[327] dicit Glossa super Mattheum: Cum dicimus, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, spiritum scientie[328] rogamus, quo[329] delicta intelligimus que[330] sine spiritu sancto non intelliguntur. Unde propheta[331] in Psalmo[332] querit:[333] *delicta quis intelligit*, quasi dicat,[334] nullus[335] nisi cui[336] tu[337] donum scientie dederis. Et ideo statim subdit, *ab ocultis meis munda me, domine*.[338] Nec etiam possumus esse iusti nisi reddamus cuique[339] debitum suum, sed quid sit[340] illud debitum quod tenemur cuique[341] nescimus nisi per donum scientie. Unde absque dono scientie[342] opera iustitie[343] facere non possumus, propter quod dicit[344] Isaias quinquagesimo tertio: *in scientia sua iustificavit*[345] *multos*, et loquitur[346] de Christo cui attribuuntur dona[347] spiritus sancti in ratione meriti, quia propter[348] meritum suum nobis dantur. Unde etiam[349] ipse[350] spiritus sanctus dicitur spiritus filii,[351] ad[352] Galatas quarto.[353] Christus igitur in scientia sua,[354] id est per donum scientie, iustificat, id est, iustos facit multos docendo[355] videlicet eos quid cuique[356] debeant, puta quid deo, quid[357] sibiipsis[358] et quid[359] proximis; et nichilominus que[360] debita peccando contraxerunt.[361] Et[362] quia hec omnia sine dono scientie scire[363] non valemus, ideo[364] in hac petitione spiritum scientie[365] postulamus.

Introducitur consequenter[366] hic beatitudo luctus, que secundum Augustinum adaptatur[367] dono scientie per quod scitur de quibus lugendum sit,[368] cuius etiam convenientie signum est in natura que idem membrum ordinavit ad visum et ad luctum. Lugendum est autem pro delictis et peccatis tam que commisimus contra deum tam[369] que[370] contra nosmetipsos[371] vel[372] etiam contra proximos nostros. De hoc luctu dicit Psalmus:[373] *Quasi lugens et contristatus sic humiliabitur*.[374] Non solum etiam[375] lugendum est pro[376] peccatis propriis, sed[377] etiam pro[378] alienis quod est maioris perfectionis, quia dicit Chrysostomus: Qui sua peccata lugent beati sunt, sed mediocriter; beatiores

he who does not temper himself with human reason necessarily lives as a beast. Through anger gentleness is lost. Through anger, concord is shattered," and many other evils are brought forth from anger according to Gregory.[36]

The virtue of justice is introduced here in this petition, the character of which is to pay back to each what is owed, and this is its essential quality as described by both philosophers and legal experts. Justice pays back the previously stated three-fold debt, as Anselm beautifully understood in his book, *Why God Became Man*. Justice, he said, is the freedom of the soul attributing to each according to their own worthiness: to God is given obedience; to oneself, holiness; to elders, reverence; to equals, concord; and to minors, discipline.[37]

From the gifts of the Holy Spirit knowledge is introduced here, because the Gloss on Matthew says: When we say *forgive us our debts*, "we ask for the spirit of knowledge, by which we understand what our faults are, which we are not able to understand without the Holy Spirit."[38] Wherefor the prophet asked in the Psalm: *who understands their own faults?*, as if to say, 'no one, except he to whom you have given the gift of knowledge', and therefore immediately is added: *cleanse me, Lord, from those things that are hidden from me*.[39] Neither are we able to be just unless we repay to each what is owed them, but what that debt is that we are held to repay to each we do not know except by the gift of knowledge. Wherefore without the gift of knowledge, we are not able to do works of justice, on account of which Isaiah 53 says: *he justifies the multitude in his knowledge*,[40] and it is spoken here of Christ, to whom is attributed the gifts of the Holy Spirit by reason of his merit, because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are given to us on account of Christ's merit. Hence the Holy Spirit itself is called the spirit of the son in Galatians 4.[41] Christ, therefore, in his own knowledge, that is, through the gift of knowledge, justifies, that is makes many just, namely, by teaching them what is owed to each, that is what is owed to God, to themselves, and to their neighbors. Nevertheless, debts are accumulated by sinning. And because all this we are not able to know without the gift of knowledge, therefore we ask for the spirit of knowledge in this petition.

Consequently, here is introduced the beatitude of weeping, which according to Augustine is associated with the gift of knowledge, by which that which should be wept for is known.[42] There is even a sign of this conveniently found in nature whereby the same organ, namely the eyes, is ordained for sight and for tears. We ought to weep moreover for our faults and sins, as much as for those that we commit against God as for those against ourselves or even against our neighbors. Concerning such weeping it is said in the Psalm: *As if weeping and thoroughly upset thus will he be humbled*.[43] It is not only, however, for our own sins that we should weep, but also even for the sins of others, which is of greater perfection, because as Chrysostom said: "Who weep for their own sins

autem sunt qui[379] aliena lugent peccata. Lugere autem peccata[380] est ipsa[381] odire, itaque[382] surgamus ad destructionem eorum.[383] Est[384] et[385] alius[386] luctus qui[387] etiam ad hanc beatitudinem pertinet, scilicet lugere pro incolatu[388] presentis miserie et pro dilatione[389] glorie. Hoc luctu luxit[390] propheta cum dicebat:[391] *heu michi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est*, etc.[392] Huic beatitudini respondet[393] pro premio[394] consolatio, que in hac vita inchoatur, perficitur autem in futura. Dignum est enim ut qui propter deum hic tristatur,[395] ipse a deo consoletur.

De fructibus per hanc petitionem introducitur mansuetudo, que secundum suam rationem est moderativa[396] irarum, ut dicit Philosophus[397] quarto Ethicorum. Et[398] maxime necessaria est nobis ad hoc, ut[399] dimittamus debitoribus nostris, quibus ira non dimittit.[400]

are blessed, but moderately so; more blessed however are those who mourn the sins of others."[44] To weep, or to morn, is to hate sins themselves as such, and thus we rise to destory them. There is yet another weeping that pertains to this beatitude, namely, to weep for the alienation of this present misery and the postponement of glory. This weeping the prophet mourned when he said: *woe is me because my sojourn here is prolonged*, etc.[45] To this beatitude corresponds consolation as a reward, which is begun in this life, but is brought to completion in the future life, for it is fitting that who here is saddend for God's sake will be consoled by God.

From the fruits of the Holy Spirit, the fruit of gentleness is introduced here in this petition,[46] which is, according to its very nature, the moderation of anger, as the Philosopher said in book four of his *Ethics*.[47] And gentleness is most necessary for us so that we might forgive our debtors, whom anger does not forgive.

Lectio octava

Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. Quia non sufficit ad salutem dimissio peccatorum,[1] si homo postea[2] patiatur[3] recidivum et succumbat temptationibus futurorum,[4] ideo[5] convenienter hec sexta petitio subsequitur[6] premissam.[7]

Dubitaret autem aliquis circa hanc petitionem, quia non videtur congrua et rationalis,[8] cum apostolus Iacobus[9] dicat: *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem*. Ergo videtur quod orando ut non temptemur,[10] contra nosipsos oremus[11] petendo ut non beatificemur.[12] Item[13] dicitur Iacobi primo: *Omne gaudium existimate fratres, cum in temptationes varias incideritis*. Unde etiam[14] propheta orat in Psalmo: *Proba me domine et tempta me*.[15] Ex quibus omnibus videtur quod temptatio sit utilis, ac per hoc appetenda; et sic hec[16] petitio non est rationalis,[17] ut videtur.[18]

Ad quod dicendum, quod[19] ista[20] quinque differunt: temptari, temptationem[21] incidere, temptationem sufferre, in[22] temptationem subduci, ⟨et[23]⟩ in temptationem induci.[24] Temptari[25] est temptatione simpliciter pulsari;[26] et in hoc nec est virtus[27] nec vitium, est[28] tamen materia exercende virtutis, secundum Augustinum. Et nemo hoc impulsu liber esse potest,[29] quia secundum Ambrosium, nulla mens est,[30] nulla anima,[31] que non recipiat etiam malarum motus agrestes[32] cognitionum.[33] Idem legitur[34] in *Collationibus patrum*, ubi dicitur: Mentem non interpellari[35] cogitationibus impossibile est; suscipere vero eas sive respuere omni studenti per gratiam dei possibile est.[36]

'In temptationem incidere' est quando homo impulsus resistendo pugnat; et in hoc est exercitium virtutis. Unde Augustinus super Psalmum sexagesimum:[37] Vita nostra in hac peregrinatione non potest esse sine temptatione; quia[38] profectus noster per temptationem nostram[39] fit. Nec sibi quisquam[40] innotescit nisi temptatus,[41] non potest coronari[42] nisi vincerit,[43] nec[44] potest vincere nisi certaverit,[45] nec[46] potest certare[47] nisi inimicum[48] et temptationes[49] habuerit.

'Sufferre temptationem' est in bello temptationis nullatenus[50] succumbere sed fortes ictus viriliter[51] sufferrendo triumphare; et in hoc est perfecta virtus. De tali triumphatore[52] dicitur:[53] *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem*. Unde dicit[54] Ambrosius in quadam epistola: deus omnium rector et dominus cum omnium[55] angelorum militia certamen tuum exspectat[56] tibi, que[57] contra diabolum dimicanti[58] parat[59] eternitatis coronam.

'Subduci in temptationem' est quando homo per temptationem decipitur; et sic diabolus temptat bonos, qui sine dubio resisterent, si deceptionis[60] laqueos

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_011

Lecture 8

And Lead Us Not Into Temptation.[1] Because the forgiveness of sins does not suffice for salvation if man afterwards suffers a setback and succumbs to future temptations, the sixth petition therefore fittingly follows the previous one.

Someone, however, might question this petition because it does not seem congruant or rational, since the Apostle James said: *blessed is the man who suffers temptation*.[2] Therefore it seems that in praying that we might not be tempted we are praying against ourselves by seeking that we might not be blessed. Further, James 1 says: *All joy, brothers, is found when you fall into varius temptations*.[3] Wherefore even the prophet prayed in the Psalm: *Test me, Lord, and tempt me*.[4] From all this it would seem that temptation is useful, and consequently is to be desired and thus, it would seem, this petition is not reasonable.

To this it should be said that these five differ: to be tempted, to fall into temptation, to suffer temptation, to succumb to temptation, and to be led into temptation. 'To be tempted' is simply to be confronted with temptation, and in this there is neither virtue nor vice, it is nevertheless the opportunity for exercising virtue, according to Augustine.[5] No one is able to be free from this impulse, because according to Ambrose, there is no man, no soul, who does not experience passing disturbances of evil thoughts.[6] Further, one reads in the *Conferences of the Desert Fathers* where it is said: "It is impossible that the mind is not disturbed by thoughts, but it is possible with the grace of God and complete effort to reject them once they have been received."[7]

'To fall into temptation' is when a man, attacked by temptation, fights against it by resisting, and in this is the exercise of virtue. Wherefore Augustine on the Psalms said: "Our life in this pilgrimage is not able to be without temptation, because our progress comes about through our temptation. Neither does anyone come to know himself unless he is tempted. One is not able to be crowned unless he conquers, neither is one able to conquer unless he fights, nor is one able to fight unless he is confronted by enemies and temptations."[8]

'To suffer temptation' is when in the war of temptation one in no way succumbs, but triumphs remaining strong in one's suffering in the midst of forceful blows, and in this is perfect virtue. About such a victor is said: *Blessed is the man who suffers temptation*.[9] Wherefore in a letter Ambrose said: "God the judge of all and the Lord of all the armies of angels expects you to fight the fight against the devil which prepares you for the crown of eternity."[10]

'To succomb to temptation' is when man is deceived by temptation and thus the devil tempts the good, who would resist without hesitation if they

cognoscerent.[61] De hoc[62] temptationis genere[63] dicit Gregorius in *Moralibus*: Ibi inimicus decipulam[64] ponit, ubi semitam mentis[65] esse conspicit. Unde[66] fit ut[67] sepe mens decepta et seducta subducatur et in temptatione[68] succumbat; et in hoc est[69] vitium et peccatum eo quod in[70] cavendo tales laqueos negligentes fuimus[71] et incauti.

'Induci'[72] vero 'in temptationem' est quando homo scienter consentit et delectatur; et hoc est pessimum, quia secundum Gregorium in *Pastoralibus*:[73] humanum est in corde temptationem perpeti, demoniacum vero est in temptationis certamine[74] superari.

In hac igitur[75] petitione cum dicimus, *et*[76] *ne nos inducas in temptationem*, non petimus ut non temptemur, sed[77] non[78] inducamur[79] in temptationem puta per consensum. Et ponit Augustinus exemplum: sicut[80] si aliquis necessario debeat igne[81] examinari, ille non orat ut igne[82] non contingatur,[83] sed ut non[84] exuratur.[85] Et per hoc patet ad obiecta.

Sed dices:[86] deus neminem inducit[87] in consensum temptationis, *ipse* enim *neminem temptat*, ut dicitur[88] Iacobi primo.[89] Frustra ergo petimus ne ipse nos inducat in temptationem, immo videtur quod blasphememus deum[90] inpingendo sibi quod sit temptator seu inductor in temptationem.

Dicendum quod deus non inducit causaliter, sed permissive,[91] vel non efficiendo, sed deserendo. Unde est sensus: *ne nos inducas*, id est, ne nos permittas induci secundum quem modum[92] loquendi[93] dicitur etiam[94] 'indurare' sicut ibi: *Ego*[95] *induravi*[96] *cor* pharaonis, induravi,[97] id est,[98] permisi.

Sed dices:[99] immo deus legitur temptasse[100] causaliter et effective iuxta illud: *temptavit deus Abraham*; dicendum quod[101] temptatio est duplex:[102] probationis et hac[103] deus temptat sanctos, non ut ipse deus per hoc[104] capiat notitiam de eis sed ut ipsi seipsos probent, et sibiipsis[105] innotescant.[106] Unde Augustinus super Psalmum:[107] Temptaris et[108] exercearis, ut proberis ut[109] qui te nesciebas a teipso inveniaris. Et hac temptatione propheta se temptari cupiebat cum dicebat:[110] *Proba me domine et tempta me*, et taliter Abraham temptatus est.[111]

Alia est temptatio deceptionis, et hac[112] deus neminem[113] temptat. Hec autem temptatio scilicet[114] deceptionis fit a tribus videlicet[115] a carne,[116] ab

recognized the snares of deception.[11] About this type of temptation Gregory said in his *Moral Interpretation of Job*: "Where he sees the path of the mind to be, there the enemy places a trap."[12] Wherefore it often happens that with one's mind deceived and seduced, one is led away and succumbs to temptation, and in this is vice and sin, in that being warned we are careless and neglect such traps.

'To be led into temptation', however, is when man knowingly consents to the temptation and enjoys it,[13] and this is the worst, because according to Gregory in his *Pastoral*: "It is human to endure temptation in one's heart; it is, however, diabolical to be defeated in the battle of temptation."[14]

In this petition, therefore, when we say, *and lead us not into temptation*, we are not asking that we might not be tempted, but that we might not be led into temptation through consent,[15] and Augustine gave an example: "If someone by necessity is confronted by fire, he does not pray that he might escape the fire, but that he might not be burned up by the fire."[16] And this replies to the question.[17]

But you might say: God leads no one to consent to temptation, for *He tempts no one*, as is said in James 1.[18] We seek, therefore, that He does not lead us into temptation in vain, even more so, it would seem blasphemous to imply that God is a temptor or a leader of one into temptation.

To this it should be said that God does not lead one into temptation in a causal sense, but in a permissive sense, or not in the sense of bringing about the temptation, but in one of abandoning us to temptation. Wherefore the meaning would be: *and lead us not*, that is, 'do not allow us to be led into temptation', according to which way of speaking we should understand as well 'to harden' as in: *I hardened Pharao's heart*, where 'hardened' is 'permitted to be hardened.'[19]

But you might say: But yet it is read that God tempts causally and effectively according to the verse: *God tempted Abraham*.[20] To this it should be said that temptation is two-fold. One form of temptation is probative, and in this way God tempts the saints, not so that God Himself might gain some knowledge of them, but so that they might prove themselves and come to know themselves. Wherefore Augustine on the Psalms: "You will be tempted and tested so that you might be examined so that you might find that part of yourself you do not know."[21] And by this type of temptation the prophet desired that he would be tempted when he said: *Test me, Lord, and tempt me*,[22] and such was Abraham tempted.

Another type of temptation is the temptation of deception, and with this type of temptation God tempts no one. This type of temptation, however, namely, the temptation of deception, comes about from three things, namely,

hoste[117] et[118] a mundo. Que tria[119] tangit Apostolus Ephesiorum sexto:[120] *non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem*, supponitur[121] tantum secundum Glossam et hoc[122] quantum[123] ad temptationem[124] carnis; *sed adversus principes*[125] *et potestates*,[126] *adversus mundi rectores*, etc.;[127] et hoc quantum ad temptationes[128] diaboli et mundi.

De temptatione[129] carnis[130] dicit Gregorius in *Moralibus*: Nos[131] gestamus laqueum nostrum nobiscum circumferimus inimicum carnem nostram loquor[132] de peccato natam,[133] in peccato nutritam[134] corruptam nimis ipsa origine, sed multo amplius prava consuetudine vitiatam.[135] De deceptione[136] hostis[137] dicit Isidorus in libro *De summo bono*, et idem dicit Hugo:[138] diabolus, quando decipere[139] aliquem[140] temptat, prius naturam[141] uniuscuiusque intendit, et inde[142] se[143] applicat, unde[144] aptum[145] hominem ad peccandum[146] esse[147] conspicit. De deceptione[148] mundi dicit Bernardus in sermone:[149] Mundus est ubi malitie plurimum, ubi[150] sapientie modicum, ubi omnia sunt viscosa, omnia lubrica, et obsessa laqueis ubi periclitantur anime, ubi omnis[151] vanitas et afflictio spiritus.[152]

De his tribus[153] temptationibus simul[154] dicit Bernardus: Mundus clamat[155] ego deficiam, caro ego inficiam,[156] diabolus ego decipiam, Christus vero dicit ego reficiam. Dicamus ergo *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*:[157] carnis; mundi et diaboli.

Per hanc petitionem excluditur luxuria, de qua[158] ut plurimum homines[159] magis[160] temptantur, et ad hoc vitium omnes tres[161] temptatores[162] incitant et instigant: caro concupiscendo; diabolus suggerendo; mundus alliciendo. Non autem sic est de aliis vitiis. Ad superbiam enim[163] avaritiam et[164] invidiam non instigat caro,[165] cum illa proprie non sint[166] carnis sed animi. Ad iram autem[167] directe non instigat mundus, quia mundus[168] prout est deceptivus[169] magis blanditur quam quod commoveat[170] iram. Ad gulam etiam[171] et accidiam mundus directe non incitat, sed ista[172] respiciunt delectationem et commodum carnis. Ad luxuriam autem omnia tria[173] directe concurrunt:[174] diabolus quedam[175] cogitationes ingerendo[176] et motum carnis excitando;[177] caro concupiscendo; mundus visum et alios sensus oblectando, quia secundum Gregorium: Species[178] forme per oculos cordi[179] semel[180] illigata[181] vix[182] magni[183] in[184] luctaminis manu solvitur.

Introducitur autem[185] hic de virtutibus prudentia, cuius est insidias et fraudes temptatorum[186] previdere et caute declinare. Unde dicit Socrates in suis sententiis: Prudentis est ne quem[187] in casum[188] incidat cavere, et si quod[189] forte acciderit, fortiter ferre fortis[190] nemo potest iudicari[191] qui prudens non

from the flesh, from enemies, and from the world,[23] which three the Apostle spoke of in Ephesians 6: *for us the struggle is not against flesh and blood*,[24] which according to the Gloss is understood as referring to the temptation of the flesh, *but against the princes and powers, and against the leaders of the world*,[25] and this refers to the temptations of the devil and of the world.[26]

Gregory spoke about the temptations of the flesh in his *Moral Interpretation of Job*: "We wear our noose, carrying it around with us, our enemy the flesh, born from sin, nurtured in sin from its very origin, but becoming of even greater insidiousness from the corruption of habit."[27] Regarding the deception of the enemy Isidore said in his book *On the Greatest Good*, and Hugh of St. Victor said the same: "the devil, when he tries to deceive someone, first attacks the nature of each and every one, and he gains a foothold in the place where he recognizes man to be liable to sin."[28] On the deception of the world Bernard said in a sermon: "the world is where we find the greatest amount of evil and the least amount of wisdom, where everything is vicious, everything is dangerous, filled with snares where souls are captured, and where all vanity afflicts the spirit."[29]

Concerning these three temptations taken all together Bernard said: "The world cries out: 'I will deceive you'; the flesh cries out: 'I will corrupt you'; the devil cries out: 'I will destroy you'; but Christ calls out: 'I will restore you.' "[30] We say therefore, *and lead us not into temptation* of the flesh, of the world, and of the devil.[31]

Through this petition is excluded the vice of luxury, by which men are tempted most of all, and all three temptations excite and bring about this vice: the flesh by lusting; the devil by suggesting; and the world by enticing. Luxury, however, is not as all the other vices, for the flesh does not bring about pride, avarice, or envy, since these are vices most properly pertaining not to the flesh, but to the soul. The world does not directly incite anger, because the world insofar as it deceives, fawns more than it provokes anger. Neither does the world directly arouse gluttony or sloth, but these vices are with respect to the delight and comfort of the flesh. All three temptors however work together with resepct to luxury, for the devil thrusts upon us certain thoughts and excites our flesh; our flesh then begins to lust; and the world dulls our vision and other senses, because according to Gregory: "images formed by the eyes of our hearts are bound to us so tightly that they are scarcely able to be loosed even with great struggle."[32]

From the virtues, however, prudence is introduced in this petition, which with care and cautiousness rejects the insidiousness and fraud of the temptors. Wherefore Socrates said in his *Sentences*: "It is of prudence not to take up lightly defense of someone's case, although should this come about, the prudent man will defend his client forcefully. No brave man is able to be judged who was not

fuerit. Hinc est[192] quod[193] dominus, cum mitteret discipulos suos in mundum, hanc prudentiam eos docuit contra temptationes eos cautos reddendo[194] dicens: *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes*.[195]

Prudentia serpentis,[196] quantum[197] ad propositum spectat,[198] perpenditur ex tribus. Primo, ex eo quod veterem pellem per artum foramen deponit. Sic[199] et nos ne in temptationem ducamur,[200] debemus pellem veteris conversationis[201] deponere transeundo per artum[202] foramen arte vite et[203] castigationis ac etiam[204] evangelice perfectionis. Unde Matthei septimo: *Intrate per angustam portam*. Unde Bernardus: Tu prius intrasti, O bone Ihesu, per angustum[205] passionis foramen, ut sequentibus membris preberes[206] ingressum. Et hoc est optimum remedium contra temptationes,[207] carnis puta castigare corpus et[208] ducere vitam artam in abstinentiis, vigiliis, macerationibus et aliis castigationibus. Secundo, prudentia serpentis ex hoc perpenditur quod solem diligit[209] et solis calori[210] se exponit cum sit nature frigide. Sic[211] nos tempore temptationis solem divine gratie[212] expetere[213] debemus ut ipse nos, qui ex nobis sumus frigidi, sua virtute corroboret. Et hoc[214] est potissimum remedium contra temptationes diaboli, ut laqueus[215] maligni spiritus virtute sancti[216] spiritus conteratur, ut sic eius muniti[217] presidio de hoste triumphemus. Tertio, prudentia serpentis in hoc est quod corpus pro capite exponit. Sic[218] nos[219] tempore temptationis et persecutionis pro mente defendenda vel tuenda que est caput hominis, ne in malo consentiat, debemus totum corpus morti tradere. Et hoc precipue necessarium est quando quis sustinet temptationes seu persecutiones mundi propter fidem vel propter aliquid[220] aliud pertinens ad salutem. Nam antequam homo consentiret in[221] peccatum mortale potius debet[222] corpus suum tradere morti et omni pene temporali.

De donis introducitur[223] per istam[224] petitionem pietas. Unde dicit Glossa super Mattheum cum dicimus *et ne nos inducas*:[225] Spiritum pietatis petimus[226] ut homo interior mansuescat, et mitis fiat[227] ne[228] in temptationem moveatur, et si quando[229] temptetur citius a deo[230] liberetur. Hoc enim donum valet ad superandum[231] quecumque genera temptationum, iuxta quod dicit[232] Apostolus prime Timothei[233] quarto:[234] *Corporalis*, inquid, *exercitatio ad modicum utilis est; pietas autem ad omnia utilis est*.[235] Corporalis inquam[236] exercitatio[237] qua[238] secundum Glossam, aliquis[239] se[240] fatigat ieiunando et abstinendo, que sunt frena carnis, *ad modicum utilis est*, quia tantum[241] ad reprimendas temptationes carnis;[242] pietas autem ad omnia utilis est, quia contra[243] genera temptationum quarumlibet[244] valet, non solum carnis, sed etiam

prudent."[33] This is that prudence that the Lord taught his disciples when he sent them into the world, making them cautious against temptations in saying: *Be prudent as serpents*.[34]

The prudence of a serpent in so far as it pertains here is with respect to three things. First, from the fact that a serpent sheds its old skin through a small opening. Thus even we, lest we be led into temptation, ought to shed the skin of our former manner by passing through the narrow opening of a strict life and castigation, and even evangelical perfection. Wherefore Matthew 7: *Enter through the narrow gate*.[35] Wherefore Bernard said: "You first entered, Oh Good Jesus, through the narrow passage of your passion so that you might prepare the way for entry for your members following you."[36] And this is the best remedy against temptations of the flesh, namely, to castigate one's body and to lead a strict life in abstinences, vigils, fastings, and other castigations. Second, the prudence of a serpent in this regard refers to the fact that a serpent loves the sun and exposes himself to the sun and its warmth, since it is cold-blooded. Thus we, in the time of temptation, ought to beg for the sun of divine grace so that it might strengthen us who are cold with its virtue. And this is the most powerful remedy against temptations of the devil so that the snare of an evil spirit might be demolished by the virtue of the Holy Spirit, so that we might triumph over our enemy with the help of the fortifications of grace. Third, the prudence of a serpent in this case is that it exposes its body for the sake of its head. Thus in the time of temptation and persecution we ought to hand over our entire body to death for the sake of defending or holding secure our mind, which is the head of man, lest we consent to evil. And this is most necessary when one suffers the temptations or persecutions of the world on account of faith, or on account of something else that pertains to salvation, for before a man might give in to mortal sin, he ought rather hand over his own body indeed to all temporal punishment.[37]

From the gifts of the Holy Spirit is introduced in this petition the gift of piety. Wherefore the Gloss on Matthew to where we say, *and lead us not* says: "We ask for the spirit of piety so that the interior man might be mild and gentle so that he might not be moved into temptation,"[38] and if when he is tempted, that he might quickly be freed by God, for this gift empowers one to conquer all types of temptations, according to that which the Apostle said in 1 Timothy 4: *Bodily training is somewhat useful; piety however is useful for everything*.[39] Bodily training, I would say, by which according to the Gloss someone knocks himself out with fasting and abstinence, which rein in the flesh, is only of modest use because it only works against the temptations of the flesh; piety, however, is useful for everything because it works strongly against all types of temptations, not only against the temptations of the flesh, but also against the temptations

mundi et demonis.[245] Unde Petrus dicit,[246] prime Petri secundo:[247] *Novit deus*[248] *pios in*[249] *temptatione eripere*. Est autem pietas prout est donum habitus supernaturalis quo movet nos spiritus sanctus ut affectum quendam filialem[250] habeamus ad deum. Et[251] ex hoc consequenter[252] movet nos[253] ad miserandum proximis quodam pio affectu[254] pro quanto et[255] ipsi sunt filii dei.

Et[256] quoniam dono pietatis, secundum Augustinum, adaptatur beatitudo mititatis, ideo convenienter etiam[257] introducitur hic[258] de beatitudinibus[259] mititas.[260] Mitis enim est qui nec[261] patitur nec deducitur, secundum Origenem. Unde mititas, prout est beatitudo, est quidam[262] status iam purgati animi, quando scilicet[263] homo post multarum temptationum frequentem victoriam quasi victor[264] divina[265] gratia in quietudine mentis ponitur, et quantum[266] possibile est in hac vita[267] temptationum[268] impulsibus amplius non[269] quassatur.[270] Ex quo[271] satis patet convenientia istius[272] beatitudinis ad hanc petitionem, quantum[273] ad omnia genera temptationum predictarum.

Huic autem beatitudini[274] respondet pro premio possessio terre. Conveniens enim est ut qui pacifice sedatis[275] temptationum tumultibus[276] possidentur a deo[277] et ipsi possideant deum, qui est beata habitatio[278] viventium. Quia secundum Augustinum, nullius erit deus possessio nisi eius, quem ipse prius[279] possiderit.[280] Hec autem posessio dei hic inchoatur,[281] et in futuro perficitur.

De fructibus vero hic introducuntur duo scilicet continentia et castitas, que differunt[282] quia castitas refrenat hominem ab illicitis concupiscientiis, continentia vero[283] a[284] licitis; et utroque modo contingit hominem temptari, quandoque de rebus illicitis, quandoque[285] etiam de rebus licitis.[286] Et ideo patet quomodo[287] per hanc petitionem, qua[288] petimus in temptationem nos non induci, hec duo[289] introducuntur.

of the world and of the devil.[40] Wherefore Peter said in 1 Peter 2: *God knows to snatch out the pious in temptation*.[41] Piety, however, is the gift of a supernatural habit by which the Holy Spirit moves us so that we might have filial feelings towards God. And consequently on this basis it moves us to having compassion for our neighbors with a certain pious emotion, for such even are the sons of God.[42]

Since meekness is associated with the gift of piety according to Augustine,[43] it is fitting therefore that here from the beatitudes the beatitude of meekness is introduced, for the meek man is he who neither suffers nor is enticed, according to Origin.[44] Wherefore meekness as a beatitude is a certain state of being of the already purged soul, when, namely, a man, after frequent victory over a multitude of temptations, is placed as a victor by divine grace in the stillness of mind, and as much as possible in this life is no longer hounded by the impulses of temptation. From this is is clear how fitting the beatitude of meekness corresponds to this petition with respect to all the types of temptations mentioned above.[45]

To this beatitude of meekness corresponds as a reward the possession of the earth. For it makes sense that one who peacefully weathers the storms of temptation is possessed by God and they possess God, who is the blessed habitation of the living, because according to Augustine, God will be possessed by no one except him whom He has first possessed.[46] This possession of God, however, begins here in this life and is perfected in the future life.

Of the fruits of the Holy Spirit there are two that are introduced here in this petition, namely continence and chastity,[47] which differ because chastity reins man in from illicit desires, whereas continence does so with respect to licit desires. In both ways man is tempted, for sometimes we are tempted by illicit things and sometimes by licit things. And thus it is clear how through this petition, by which we seek not to be led into temptation, these two fruits of the Holy Spirit are introduced.

Lectio nona

Sed libera nos a malo. Postquam in precedenti[1] oravimus[2] petitione[3] non[4] nos[5] induci in malum[6] quo caremus, nunc[7] in hac ultima petitione oramus nos liberari a malo, in quod iam inducti sumus,[8] secundum Augustinum[9] *De*[10] *sermone domini*.[11] Et[12] in hac petitione,[13] ut[14] dicit Cyprianus: claudimus universas preces nostras, et nichil remanet quod ultra[15] debeat postulari. Nam protectione dei adversus malum quam[16] hic petimus, impetrata[17] securi sumus et tuti. Quis enim de[18] hoc seculo metus[19] est cuius in hoc seculo deus tutor est.[20] Hec Cyprianus.[21]

Notandum autem quod hec[22] adversativa[23] coniunctio,[24] sed[25] non ponitur hic adversative, quasi aliquid[26] dictorum corrigat, sed potius[27] ponitur subiunctive, ut id[28] quod infra ponitur, adiciat, quasi dicens:[29] non solum predicta nobis facias,[30] sed[31] etiam[32] id[33] quod supponitur addicias et dicit potius secundum[34] quam et[35] ad signandum[36] hanc petitionem esse[37] aliam a[38] premissa,[39] ut dicit Cyprianus.

Notandum autem quod quidam exponunt istam[40] petitionem de triplici malo, scilicet[41] culpe,[42] presentis miserie, et future pene. Sed hec[43] expositio non videtur[44] conveniens, quia intelligendo de malo culpe[45] coincideret[46] hec[47] petitio cum quinta, qua dicitur *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, nam debita vocantur[48] mala[49] culpe, ut ibi[50] patet. Intelligendo etiam de malo pene future coincideret hec petitio[51] cum[52] secunda, qua dicimus[53] *adveniat regnum tuum*, nam cum petimus unum oppositorum,[54] excludimus reliquum. Unde ibi, ut dicebatur, petimus[55] triplex[56] regnum dei excludendo triplex regnum diaboli oppositum,[57] quorum unum in se[58] habet pene future inflictionem.[59] Preterea, secundum Augustinum hec petitio[60] respicit malum presens in quod iam inducti sumus, ut supra allegatum est in principio huius petitionis; quare[61] inconvenienter exponitur de malo pene future.

Alii exponunt de alio triplici malo scilicet mundi, carnis, et diaboli. Sed[62] tunc hec[63] petitio coincideret cum precedente,[64] qua dicitur, *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*.[65] Alii exponunt[66] de alio triplici malo[67] scilicet[68] preteritis, presentibus, et futuris.[69] Sed hoc[70] est[71] contra Augustinum,[72] qui hanc petitionem dicit respicere mala[73] presentia, ut dictum est.[74] Sed[75] quia in oratione,

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_012

Lecture 9

But Deliver Us From Evil.[1] After we have prayed in the preceding petition that we might not be led into the evil that we have not yet suffered, now in this last petition we pray that we might be delivered from the evil which we already experience, according to Augustine in his *On the Sermon of the Lord on the Mount*.[2] And in this petition, as Cyprian says: "We conclude all our prayers and nothing remains left over that we ought to pray for, for by the protection of God against evil, which we ask for here, we are completely secure once God's protection is obtained. For who in this age is afraid whose defender in this age is God?"[3] Thus Cyprian.

It should be noted, however, that this adversative conjunction 'but' is not placed here as a contradiction, as if it corrects something that had been said, but it is used here rather subjunctively as adding that which follows, as if saying: 'not only do for us those things we have already asked, but also that which you added hereafter'; thus 'but' here is said more strongly to signify that this petition is a distinct petition from those that came before, as Cyprian said.[4]

It should be noted, however, that some interpret this petition as referring to a three-fold evil, namely, the evil of guilt, of our present misery, and of future punishment.[5] But this exposition does not seem to work, because in understanding evil as being the evil of guilt this petition would overlap with the fifth petition when we say, *Forgive us our debts*, for debts are called the evils of guilt, as is clear in our discussion of the fifth petition. The understanding of evil as the evil of future punishment would mean this petition would overlap with the second petition, in which we say *Thy kingdom come*, for when we seek one of opposites, the other is excluded. Wherefore in the second petition, as it was said, we ask for the three-fold reign of God, in which the opposing three-fold reign of the devil is excluded, one reign of which includes the infliction of future punishment. Furthermore, according to Augustine, this petition concerns present evil, the evil which we already suffer, as put forth above in the beginning of this petition.[6] Wherefore this petition is not accurately exposited as referring to the evil of future punishment.[7]

Others exposit the evil referred to in this petition as being another three-fold evil, namely, the evil of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, but then this petition would overlap with the one preceding it, in which we pray, *and lead us not not into temptation*. Yet still others exposit this evil as referring to yet another three-fold evil, namely, the evil of the past, of the present, and of the future,[8] but this is against Augustine, who said that this petition refers to present evil, as already said. But because in the prayer that is said in mass

que[76] dicitur in missa[77] post istam[78] orationem dominicam immediate, liberari petimus a triplici malo[79] scilicet presenti, preterito, et futuro,[80] ubi[81] dicitur[82] libera nos quesumus, domine, ab omnibus malis[83] presentibus, preteritis et futuris,[84] etc.,[85] ideo[86] nec[87] illum intellectum omnino reprobo.

Restat ergo[88] ut solum exponatur de malo presentis miserie, in quo iam laboramus,[89] quod[90] est triplex secundum Bernardum. Sumus enim faciles ad seducendum, quantum[91] ad rationalem; debiles ad operandum, quantum[92] ad concupiscibilem; fragiles ad resistendum, quantum[93] ad irascibilem. Hec tria ponit Bernardus in sermone de adventu domini:[94] Triplici, inquit,[95] malo humanum genus miserabiliter[96] laborat. Nam faciles sumus ad seducendum, debiles[97] ad operandum, et[98] fragiles ad resistendum. Si discernere volumus inter bonum et malum,[99] decipimur; si temptamus facere bonum, deficimus; si conamur malo resistere, deicimur.

Et[100] notandum[101] quod hoc quid[102] hic dicitur de resistentia mali non intelligitur de resistentia,[103] qua resistimus temptationibus, quia tunc coincideret[104] cum petitione precedente;[105] sed intelligitur de resistentia,[106] qua resistimus[107] malis nos involuentibus[108] sicut sunt adversitates seculi, necessitates corporis et[109] passiones animi[110] et cetera talia. Multa enim sunt mala, que non[111] per modum temptationis nobis[112] ingeruntur, quibus per nos resistere non sufficimus,[113] et ideo petimus ab eis[114] liberari. Petimus autem hic a predicto[115] triplici malo liberari, non ut eis[116] totaliter exuamur,[117] puta ut tollamur de[118] hac vita quia tunc ista petitio conicideret cum secunda, sed petimus sic[119] nos[120] ab eis liberari, ne in exercitio spirituali nos impediant aut retardent. Dicamus ergo *libera nos a malo*: deceptionis,[121] quo decipimur in cognoscendo; defectionis,[122] quo deficimus in operando; deiectionis,[123] quo deicimur in resistendo.[124]

Per hanc petitionem excluditur accidia, que secundum Bernardum est quidam[125] animi[126] torpor, quo[127] quis negligit[128] aliqua bona inchoare ac[129] fastidit perficere. Et iste torpor causat[130] in nobis triplex malum[131] predictum, quo laboramus sicut[132] patet diligenter consideranti. Accidiosus enim: tepet[133] studio; torpet[134] exercitio; languet tedio.

Que tria convenientiam[135] habent cum triplici malo predicto. De primo, dicit Cassianus in epistola:[136] natura humana sicut continuis studiis instruitur, ita[137] per otia torpentia[138] fatuatur; ecce malum deceptionis.[139] De secundo,

immediately after the Lord's Prayer we ask to be freed from the three-fold evil, namely, present, past, and future evil, where we say "free us Lord we ask from all evil present, past, and future," etc.,[9] I therefore do not reject entirely this understanding of the evil referred to here in this petition.[10]

The exposition remains therefore that the evil in this petition is interpreted only as referring to the evil of present misery, the evil in which we are already working, which is according to Bernard three-fold, for we are easily seduced with respect to our reason; we are weak in carrying out our responsibilities, with respect to our concupiscence; and we are fragile to resist evil with respect to our irritability. These three Bernard discussed in a sermon on the Lord's Advent: "Human kind," he said, "labors miserably under a three-fold evil, for we are easily seduced, we are weak in carrying out our responsibilities, and we are fragile in resisting evil. If we want to discern between good and evil, we are deceived; if we attempt to do good, we fall short; if we try to resist evil, we are knocked down."[11]

And it should be noted that what here is said about resisting evil is not understood with respect to the resistence by which we resist temptations, because then this petition would overlap with the previous one. But here resistence is understood as that by which we resist involuntary evils, as are the adversities of this age, the necessities of the body, and the passions of the soul, and other such. For there are many evils which are thrust upon us not by way of temptation, which we on our own do not have sufficient means to resist, and therefore we ask to be freed from them. We seek, however, here to be freed from the three-fold evil as stated not that we might completely strip them away from our lives, namely with the result that we would be born away from this present life, because then this petition would overlap with the second, but we seek thus to be freed from these evils so that they might not impede or hold back our spiritual development. We say therefore *deliver us from evil*, from the evil of deception by which we are deceived in knowing; from the evil of weakness, by which we fail in performing our responsibilities; and from the evil of dejection, by which we are defeated in resisting.[12]

Through this petition sloth is excluded, which according to Bernard is a certain numbness of the soul, by which one neglects to begin some good work or disdains to bring it to completion.[13] And this numbness causes in us the three-fold evil previously stated, in which we now labor, as is clear if one diligently considers it, for the slothful man is apathetic in study, lazy in practice, and loiters in boredom.[14]

These three correspond to the three-fold evil as discussed above. With regard to the first, Cassian said in a letter: "just as human nature is fortified by continual study, so is it dissipated by numb leisure, thus the evil of deception."[15]

locum habet quod dicit Bernardus[140] supra,[141] quod accidia est animi[142] torpor, quo quis negligit aliqua bona[143] inchoare[144] aut fastidit perficere; in quo est malum defectionis.[145] Et de his duobus simul dicit Seneca epistola septuagesimo secundo:[146] desidiosa,[147] inquit, studere torqueri[148] est, quantum ad primum; pigro supplicii[149] loco labor est, quantum ad secundum.[150] De tertio, dicit Bernardus in epistola quod accidia est quidam animi languor cum legere non libet, orare non delectat, meditationes sollicite non sentiuntur.[151] Et[152] Gregorius in homelia[153] dicit quod accidia est de[154] virtutum laudabili exercitio utriusque hominis languida deiectio; ecce malum deiectionis. Bene ergo dictum est, quod[155] per hoc quod petimus[156] liberari ab hoc triplici malo implicite fugamus accidiam.

Introducitur autem hic virtus temporantie,[157] cuius[158] est a malis presentibus abstinere, declinat enim ab extremis et servat medium quod licet etiam aliis virtutibus moralibus[159] competat, ut patet secundo *Ethicorum*, precipue tamen appropriatur temperantie. Stando autem in medio[160] aliquis liber est a malis, que sunt in extremis. Unde dicit[161] medium tenere beati. Temperantie autem sunt tres[162] partes potentiales inter ceteras,[163] que iuvant hominem[164] contra[165] triplex malum predictum quo laborat,[166] videlicet studiositas, austeritas[167] et continentia. Studiositas est virtus, qua mens hominis ad rerum cognitionem vehementer afficitur[168] secundum moderamen[169] rationis. Et hec virtus iuvat contra primum malum et quantum[170] ad istam partem, temperantia comparatur *ligno scientie boni et mali* quod est *in medio paradisi*. Austeritas[171] autem, secundum Andronicum,[172] est virtus, que excludit[173] omnes delectationes superfluas et inordinatas, que possent hominem impedire in exercitio operis virtuosi. Et hec virtus iuvat contra[174] malum, quo[175] desides[176] sumus in operando bonum et quantum[177] ad hanc[178] partem, temperantia comparatur soli, qui est medius planetarum et virtuosior inter omnes,[179] nec per aliquem planetarum a suo lumine valet impediri. Continentia vero est virtus, qua aliquis[180] resistit concupiscentiis pravis, que in eo vehementes existunt.[181] Unde dicit Andronicus quod continentia est habitus invictus a delectatione. Et hec virtus suffragatur contra tertium malum, ut de se patet. Ex quo ad istam partem, temperantia comparatur magistro, qui est in medio discipulorum,[182] ut[183] potest haberi ex secundo Ethicorum. Igitur quod[184] he tres[185] virtutes, ut dictum est, sunt partes temperantie, ideo convenienter[186] per hanc petitionem virtus temperantie dicitur introduci.[187]

De donis vero introducitur timor,[188] quia[189] ut dicit Glossa super Mattheum: dum ab imis ad summa[190] ascenditur, per spiritum timoris a malo libera-

With regard to the second we have the text from Bernard cited above that sloth is the numbness of the soul, by which one neglects to begin some good work or disdains to bring it to completion, in which is the devil of weakness. And concerning both of these evils taken together Seneca wrote in letter 72: "for the slothful," he said, "to study is to be tortured,"[16] with respect to the first; "to a lazy man work is punishment,"[17] with regard to the second. Regarding the third, Bernard wrote in a letter that sloth is a certain slowness of the soul since it does not want to read, does not delight in praying, and can't be bothered with meditations;[18] and in a homily Gregory said that sloth is human dullness making a laudible practice of virtue into a failure.[19] Thus the evil of dejection. It is well said therefore that by asking we be delivered from this three-fold evil we implicitly flee sloth.

In this petition the virtue of temperance is introduced, which is to abstain from present evils, for temperance declines extremes and stays on the middle course, which although is fitting even for the other moral virtues, as is clear from the second book of the *Ethics*, is nevertheless associated most of all with temperance.[20] Remaining firm in the mean, one is free from evils, which are in the extremes. Hence the blessed are said to hold to the mean. There are, however, three potential parts of temperance, amongst others, that help man against the previously stated three-fold evil in which man labors, namely, studiousness, austerity, and continence. Studiousness is a virtue by which the mind of man is vigorously impacted according to the governance of reason, and this virtue aids us against the first evil and to this extent temperance is compared to *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil* which is *in the middle of paradise*.[21] Austerity, however, according to Andronicus, is a virtue that excludes all superfluous and inordinate desires, which are able to impede man in the performance of virtuous works.[22] And this virtue aids one against the evil by which we are lazy in doing good, and to this extent temperance is compared to the sun, which is in the middle of the order of planets and is more virtuous than the others, nor does it allow its own light to be obstructed by any of the other planets. Continence however is the virtue by which one resists depraved lusts which vigorously arise. Wherefore Andronicus says that continence is a habit unconquerable by pleasure, and this virtue supports one against the third evil, as is clear.[23] On this basis temperance in this case is compared to a teacher who is in the midst of students, as can be seen in the second book of the *Ethics*.[24] Therefore, because these three virtues, as was said, are parts of temperance, it is therefore fitting that the virtue of temperance is said to be introduced through this petition.

From the gifts of the Holy Spirit, fear is introduced here, because as the Gloss says on Matthew: "when we ascend from the depths to the heights, we are freed

mur.[191] Unde dicitur Proverbiorum quinto decimo:[192] *per timorem domini declinat omnis a malo*, a malo[193] videlicet triplici predicto. A primo quidem quia *initium sapientie timor domini*, Ecclesiastici primo,[194] immo *omnis sapientia est timor domini*, Ecclesiastici undevicesimo.[195] Sapientia autem facit ne in cognoscendo decipiamur. A[196] secundo[197] vero quia[198] *in timore*[199] *domini fiducia fortitudinis*, ne[200] videlicet in operando deficiamus, Proverbiorum quarto decimo.[201] Unde[202] secundum Gregorium:[203] sicut in via seculi timor debilitatem, ita in via[204] dei[205] timor fortitudinem gignit. Declinatur etiam per timorem dei[206] a tertio malo, Psalmus: *firmamentum est dominus timentibus eum*,[207] ne scilicet ullis[208] adversis[209] deiciantur.[210] Et[211] hec tria et plura alia[212] de[213] hoc dono[214] comprehendit[215] Cassianus in libro *De institutis*[216] *monachorum*[217] sic dicit: Principium[218] nostre salutis sapientieque[219] secundum scripturas[220] timor domini est. De[221] timore domini nascitur compunctio spiritualis. De compuntione cordis[222] procedit abrenunciatio, id est, nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum. De nuditate humilitas procreatur. De humilitate mortificatio voluptatum generatur. De voluptatis[223] mortificatione[224] exstirpantur, atque marcescunt universa vitia. De vitiorum expulsione virtutes fructificant[225] atque[226] succrescunt.[227] De virtutum pullulatione puritas cordis acquiritur. Per cordis puritatem[228] apostolice caritatis perfectio[229] possidetur, vetus[230] est beati Anthonii sententia.[231]

De beatitudinibus introducitur hic[232] paupertas spiritus, nam sicut[233] dicit[234] Glossa:[235] Liberati a malo, pauperes spiritu et rebus esse cupimus. Exponitur autem paupertas spiritus tripliciter. Primo, ut[236] dicantur[237] pauperes spiritu, id est[238] spirituali voluntate per devotionem gratie.[239] Secundo modo sic:[240] pauperes spiritu, id est, sui[241] opinione vel reputatione secundum[242] dicit Glossa[243] interlinearis:[244] pauper spiritu humilis est corde. Tertio modo sic: spiritu pauperes,[245] id est,[246] non inflatu[247] de se non[248] confidentes sed timorosi sicut[249] vulgariter pauper corde dicitur timidus et isti quia de se nichil[250] presumunt; ideo se totos deo[251] committunt.

Primi pauperes[252] sunt habiles[253] ad cognoscendum verum. Unde dicit[254] Augustinus super Psalmum septuagesimum sextum:[255] Omnis[256] philosophie magistra[257] nobis[258] est inopia[259] propter quod legitur de multis philosophis[260] qui[261] divitias abiecerunt ut speculationi liberius[262] possent[263] vacari,[264] ut[265] de Socrate,[266] Diogene, et pluribus aliis. Secundi pauperes sunt stabiles[267] ad

from evil by the spirit of fear."[25] Wherefore it is said in Proverbs 15: *through the fear of the Lord every one desists from evil*,[26] namely, from the three-fold evil already mentioned. We are freed from the first evil certainly because *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*, as in Ecclesiasticus 1,[27] and further: *fear of the Lord is all wisdom*, Ecclesiasticus 19.[28] Wisdom moreover makes for us not being deceived in knowing. We are freed from the second evil because *in the fear of the Lord is the courage of fortitude*, so that we might not fail in performing our responsibilities, as stated in Proverbs 14.[29] Wherefore according to Gregory: "just as fear brings forth debility in the way of the world, so in the way of God fear brings forth courage."[30] We turn away then from the third evil through the fear of God, as it says in the Psalm: *the Lord is a firm foundation for those fearing Him*,[31] namely, so that they might not be cast down by any adversity. And these three and many other things about this gift Cassian understood in his book *On the Institutions of Monks* where he said: "The foundation of our salvation and wisdom according to the scriptures is the fear of the Lord. From the fear of the Lord is born spiritual compunction; from the compunction of the heart proceeds renunciation, that is a striping of oneself of and contempt for all worldly means; from such nakedness, humility springs; from humility, mortification of the will is brought forth; from the mortification of the will all vices are eradicated and rendered null; from the expulsion of the vices, virtues spring forth and flourish; from the sprouting of virtues, the purity of heart is attained; through the purity of heart, the perfection of apostolic charity is gained," an old saying of blessed Anthony.[32]

From the beatitudes, the beatitude of the poverty of spirit is introduced here, for as the Gloss says: "those freed from evil, desire to be poor in spirit and in things."[33] The poverty of spirit, however, is interpreted in a three-fold way. The first way is that those freed from evil might be said to be poor in spirit, that is poor with respect to a spiritual will through their devotion to grace. The second way is thus: the poor in spirit, that is poor with respect to their own opinion of themselves or their reputation, according to which the Interlinear Gloss said: "poor in spirit, humble in heart."[34] The third way is thus: the poor in spirit, that is, those not puffed up about themselves, not over confident, but fearful, just as commonly the poor man is said to be timid of heart because the poor do not presume anything about themselves; therefore they commit themselves to God alone.

Those poor in spirit with respect to the first interpretation are easily able to come to know the truth. Wherefore Augustine said on Psalm 76: "Every teacher of philosophy, in our opinion, lives a life without wealth, as is read of many philosophers who had cast away riches so that they might spend their leisure freely in speculation, as did Socrates, Diogenes, and many others."[35] Those poor

faciendum bonum. Unde[268] dicit Chrysostomus super Mattheum quod hec paupertas, id est humilitas, est quoddam stabile fundamentum, qua subiecta cum stabilitate alia superedificantur. Et ideo dicitur[269] Isaie vicesimo quinto:[270] *factus est* dominus *fortitudo pauperi*, ne videlicet in operatione boni deficiat.[271] Tertii pauperes sunt faciles ad resistendum malo, tales enim pauperes semper adiutorium dei sunt mendicantes, ut[272] dicit Chrysostomus: unde[273] in Greco habetur 'beati mendici'. Et ideo divino adiutorio suffulci faciliter resistunt malis,[274] propter quod de tali paupere[275] dicit dominus Isaie sexagesimo sexto: *ad quem respiciam nisi ad pauperculum et trementem sermones meos*.[276]

Hec autem tria triplicibus pauperibus competentia[277] sunt[278] contra triplex malum predictum, ut de se patet, intuenti. Propter quod[279] bene dictum est hanc primam[280] beatitudinem per istam[281] ultimam petitionem introduci. Sciendum autem quod secundum enumerationem Matthei hec beatitudo scilicet paupertatis[282] ponitur prima,[283] pacis autem ultima, quia ipse[284] procedit[285] a minus[286] dignioribus ad magis digniores.[287] Sed quoniam[288] he septem petitiones istius sanctissime orationis[289] procedunt a perfectioribus ad minus perfecta,[290] ideo in coaptatione petitionum et beatitudinum ordo oppositus observatur.[291]

Octava autem beatitudo, que est[292] pati persecutiones[293] propter iusticiam, hic[294] nulli[295] petitioni[296] singulariter adaptatur, quia ipsa[297] super singulas replicatur. Unde dicit Augustinus et[298] Glossa, quod ipsa redit ad caput, quod intelligitur dupliciter. Uno modo, quod ipsa replicari debeat super omnes precedentes; verbi gratia, beati pauperes spiritu,[299] si persecutionem patiuntur propter iusticiam, et sic de[300] aliis. Et secundum hoc non est specialis beatitudo distincta ab aliis,[301] sed[302] est precedentium illuminatio et probatio. Alio modo, quia usus istius beatitudinis ambit et complectitur[303] usum omnium aliarum pro quanto in qualibet est passio quedam. Quod sic declarari potest, patitur[304] aliquis[305] aut[306] a se aut ab alio. Si a se[307] aut voluntarie[308] subtrahendo, que sibi placent, aut inferenda,[309] que[310] displicent.[311] Subtrahendo quidem[312] aut[313] in quantum sibi[314] sunt impedimenta, quod fit per paupertatem, aut in quantum aliis[315] adiutoria, quod fit per misericordiam;[316] inferendo que displicent hoc fit per luctum. Si autem ab alio patitur[317] aut intra[318] aut extra. Si extra, tunc[319] respectu inferentis[320] necessaria[321] est mititas, ut non[322] reddat malum pro malo, respectu[323] autem sustinentis[324] esuries iusticie,[325] que magis appetit probari[326] et purgari. Si intra, tunc[327] quantum ad inferentem[328] necessaria est pax,[329] ut secundum rationem rectam totum concordetur; quantum[330] ad sustinentem[331] munditia cordis ut voluntas non inficiatur.[332] Et sic

in spirit according to the second interpretation are steadfast in doing the good. Wherefore Chrysostom said on Matthew that this poverty, that is, humility, is a certain stable foundation on which other things can be securely built,[36] and therefore it is said in Isaiah 25: the Lord *has been made the fortress for the poor man*,[37] namely, lest he fail in doing the good. The poor in spirit according to the third interpretation resist evil without difficulty for such poor are always beggars of God's help, as Chrysostom said: "wherefore the Greek reads 'blessed are the beggars'."[38] And therefore those supported with divine assistance easily resist evils, on account of which the Lord said of such a poor man in Isaiah 66: *to whom do I give my care unless to the poor man and to him who trembles at my words?*[39]

These three attributes corresponding to the three-fold interpretation of the poor in spirit are seen as opposing the three-fold evil discussed above, as is clear. On this account it is appropriately said that this first beatitude is introduced in this last petition. It should be known, however, that according to the enumeration given in Matthew this beatitude, namely, the beatitude of poverty, is placed first, with the beatitude of peace placed last, because Matthew proceded in his enumeration from those of lesser dignity to those of greater dignity. But since these seven petitions of this most holy prayer procede from the greater dignity to lesser dignity, therefore in putting together the beatitudes and the petitions the order opposite that given in Matthew has been followed.

There is however an eighth beatitude, which is the beatitude of those who suffer persecution for the sake of righteousness, which here is not attributed to any single petition, because it likewise applies to each one. Wherefore Augustine and the Gloss said that this eighth beatitude "returns to the head",[40] which is understood in two ways. In the first way it "returns to the head" because it ought to be applied to the beatitudes of all the preceeding petitions. For example, blessed are the poor in spirit, if they suffer persecution for the sake of righteousness, and thus likewise with the others. And in this sense it is not a special beatitude distinct from the others, but is a further illumination and proof of each. In the second way this eighth beatitude "returns to the head" is because the use of this beatitude embraces and brings within itself the use of all the other beatitudes in so far as in each beatitude there is a certain suffering. Thus it can be stated that someone suffers either from himself or from another. If someone suffers from himself it is by voluntarily taking away those things that please him; if one suffers from another, it is by the imposition of what displeases him. One suffers from voluntarily taking things away from himself either insofar as impediments are removed, which comes about through poverty, or insofar as one gives help to others, which comes about through mercy. One suffers from

patet quomodo[333] ista beatitudo decurrit per omnes alias, propter quod redire ad caput dicitur. Propter quod etiam convenit in primo[334] cum prima, quod[335] est regnum celorum, et[336] hoc etiam premium in omnibus aliis premiis[337] intelligitur.

De fructibus autem[338] introducitur per hanc ultimam[339] petitionem[340] patientia, cuius[341] est equo animo tollerare mala presentis miserie, quamdiu ab eis non liberamur.

Ad evidentiam premissorum quoniam nonnumquam alique virtutes, dona,[342] beatitudines et[343] fructus in idem nomen coincidunt, perutile[344] est earum[345] distinctionem hic[346] subnectere.[347] Sciendum autem[348] quod quinque sunt que consequenter se habent ad animam[349] perficiendam[350] videlicet gratia, virtus, donum, beatitudo, et fructus. Gratia est enim[351] habitus perficiens essentiam anime purgando egritudinem culpe et ad quoddam[352] esse supernaturale animam elevando. Virtus vero et[353] donum perficiunt potentiam[354] sed differenter, quia virtus perficit potentiam[355] purgando[356] eius defectum et[357] habilitando ipsam ad operandum sive[358] naturaliter, si[359] sit virtus acquisita, sive supernaturaliter si[360] sit virtus infusa. Donum[361] autem[362] purgat[363] difficultatem in operando faciens prompte[364] et faciliter hominem[365] operari ad motum et instinctum spiritus sancti. Beatitudo[366] vero est operatio doni et sic, quando[367] Philosophus dicit quarto[368] *Ethicorum* quod felicitas est operatio[369] perfecte[370] virtutis, perfecta[371] virtus appellatur[372] donum. Fructus autem est deliciosa delectatio consurgens ex predicta operatione. Ex quibus patet quod beatitudo et fructus non dicunt[373] novos habitus alios[374] a virtutibus et donis, sed sunt earum[375] actus, qui quidem actus reponunt hominem in quodam perfectionis[376] statu. Et hinc est quod beatitudines et fructus[377] quidam[378] status appellantur.[379] Dicitur[380] enim[381] beatitudo status et perfectio iam purgati[382] animi. Alia autem quatuor[383] predicta sunt[384] purgatoria[385] animi,[386] ut visum est. Et si aliquando iste status vocatur virtus, hoc est improprie; dicitur autem iste status[387] beatitudo vel quia immediate est ad beatitudinem, vel quia animam iam purgatam facit[388] statim evolare in eternam

the imposition of what displeases through grief. If, however, one suffers from another, the suffering is either internal or external. If it is external, then with respect to what is being imposed 'meakness' is necessary so that one might not repay evil with evil, while with respect to enduring the suffering the 'thirst for justice' is necessary, which is rather one's seeking to be proved and purged. If the suffering is internal, then 'peace' is necessary with respect to what is being imposed so that everything might be in harmony with right reason; with respect to enduring the suffering 'cleanness of heart' is needed so that the will does not become infected. And thus it is clear how this eighth beatitude runs through all the others, on which account it is said to 'return to the head'. On this account it even applies especially to the first petition, which is the kingdom of heaven, and this is understood to be the reward within all other rewards.

From the fruits of the Holy Spirit moreover is introduced in this last petition the fruit of patience,[41] which tollerates with equinimity of spirit the evils of our present misery for as long as we are not freed from them.

As support for what has be said thus far, since some virtues, gifts, beatitudes, and fruits coincide with the same name, it is usefulful here to add a discussion of the distinction between them. It should be known moreover that there are five things that consequently pertain to the perfecting of the soul, namely grace, virtue, gift, beatitude, and fruit. Grace for instance is a habit perfecting the soul's essence by purging the disease of guilt and by elevating the soul to a certain supernatural state of being. Virtue, though, is a gift perfecting the power of the soul but in a different way, because a virtue perfects the soul's power by purging the soul's defects and by making possible that the soul functions either naturally, if it is an acquired virtue, or supernaturally, if it is an infused virtue. A gift, however, purges the difficulty of the soul's functioning, making man quickly and easily to act according to the motivation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit. A beatitude though is the working of a gift, and thus when the Philosopher said in the fourth book of his *Ethics* that happiness is the functioning of perfect virtue, the perfect virtue is called a gift.[42] A fruit though is the savory delight arising from the working of the grace, virtue, gift, and beatitude as discussed above. From this it is clear that a beatitude and a fruit are not called new habits different from virtues and gifts, but are their actions, which indeed place man in a certain state of perfection. And hence the beatitudes and the fruits are called a certain state, for a beatitude is said to be the state and perfection of the soul already purged. The other four mentioned are for the purgation of the soul, as was seen. And if sometimes that state is called a virtue, it is so improperly, for that state is called a beatitude either because it is the state immediate to blessedness, or because it makes the soul already purged to fly on to eternal blessedness, or because it gives one the

beatitudinem,[389] vel quia dat securitatem eterne beatitudinis.[390] De hac materia plenius habes in tractatu quem edidi *De arbore virtutum*, capitulo secundo. Qualiter etiam[391] eorum singula sit[392] in idem nomen[393] coincidentia[394] a se differant,[395] habes ibidem[396] de singulis in suis locis.[397]

security of eternal blessedness. You have sufficient material about this in the second chapter of the treatise I published *On the Tree of the Virtues*.[43] How, moreover, each grace, virtue, gift, beatitude, and fruit differ even when they have the same name you have sufficient explanation in the places where I discuss each individually.

Lectio decima

Amen. Hec est conclusio totius orationis premisse, in qua, ut dicebatur in principio, optatur[1] adimpletio[2] omnium predictorum. Hec autem dictio 'Amen' secundum Augustinum, neque[3] Greca[4] est[5] neque Latina,[6] sed[7] Hebraica.[8] Et ponitur quandoque nominaliter,[9] ut[10] Apocalypsis tertio:[11] *hec*[12] *dicit, Amen*, id est, veritas;[13] quandoque[14] verbaliter dicitur,[15] ut ubicumque in Psalmis:[16] 'fiat, fiat'[17] idem est quod 'amen, amen'; et sic ponitur in fine orationum ut hic;[18] quandoque autem[19] adverbialiter, ut in evangelio ubicumque dicitur:[20] *Amen dico vobis*, id est, vere[21] et fideliter; et hoc modo etiam potest sumi hic. Unde dicit Hieronymus super Mattheum: Amen,[22] quod in fine[23] constat[24] scriptum,[25] signaculum est dominice orationis quod[26] aquila[27] interpretatus est[28] fideliter, et nos vere possumus dicere.[29]

Habet autem hec[30] dictio 'Amen' posita in fine orationis triplicem efficaciam et virtutem, nam concludit orationem; recolligit[31] intentionem;[32] impetrat exauditionem. Concludat[33] quidem[34] orationem, quia[35] secundum Hieronymum est signaculum[36] orationis. Unde[37] sicut per sigillum clauditur scriptura, sic per 'Amen' concluditur[38] oratio. Recolligit[39] etiam[40] intentionem, nam quando[41] dicitur 'Amen', intentio summatim fertur[42] super omnia precedentia; et si aliquid ex humana fragilitate per distractionem mentis in oratione absque actuali intentione pertransitum[43] est, ad id[44] intentio redit dicendo 'Amen'. Impetrat nihilominus[45] exauditionem, est enim[46] 'Amen' exauditionis nota.[47] Unde[48] dicit Rabanus:[49] per hoc[50] quod[51] dominus dixerat,[52] 'Amen', signat[53] indubitanter[54] illis[55] a domino conferri omnia que rite postulant, qui conditionis addite servare pactum non negligunt. Que quidem conditio est dimittere debitoribus[56] nostris,[57] de qua supra[58] dictum est. Et in hoc terminatur expositio huius[59] sanctissime orationis.

De perfectione et sufficientia istius[60] benedicte orationis dicit Augustinus[61] *Ad Probam*: Si per omnia precationum sanctarum[62] verba[63] discurras nichil[64] invenies, quod in ista oratione dominica non contineatur.[65] Quecumque autem alia verba dicamus, que affectus orantis format, nichil[66] aliud dicimus quam quod in ista oratione dominica positum[67] est, si recte et congruenter oramus. Qui enim dicit, *clarificare*[68] *in omnibus gentibus sicut clarificatus est in nobis*, quid aliud dicit quam[69] *sanctificetur nomen tuum*? Qui[70] dicit,[71] *Ostende*[72]

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_013

Lecture 10

Amen. This is the conclusion of the entire prayer we have discussed, in which, as was said in the beginning, is the fulfillment of all that has come before.[1] This statement, however, *Amen*, according to Augustine "is neither Greek, nor Latin, but Hebrew."[2] *Amen* is used sometime as a noun, as in the third chapter of Revelations: … *this, he said, Amen*,[3] that is, truth; and sometimes it is used in a verbal sense, as everywhere in the Psalms when we read *may it be, may it be* is the same as "amen, amen", and in this sense it is used at the end of prayers, as here; sometimes, however, *Amen* is used as an adverb, as in the Gospel whenever it is said: *Amen I say to you*, that is, truly and faithfully, and in this meaning it can also be taken here. Wherefore Jerome said on Matthew: "'*Amen*', which is found at the end, is a written seal of the Lord's Prayer, which is interpreted as the standardbearer of the prayer and that we are truly able to say it faithfully."[4]

This saying *Amen* placed at the end of this prayer has a three-fold effecacy and power, for it concludes the prayer; it focuses our intent; and it succeeds in bringing about a favorable answer to our prayer. It concludes the prayer because according to Jerome it is the seal of the prayer. Wherefore, just as a writing is closed up with a seal, so through the *Amen* a prayer is concluded. The *Amen* focuses our intent, for when *Amen* is said, our attention is brought summarily to every thing that has come before,[5] and if something due to human fragility comes about to distract our mind from the prayer without an actual intent on our part, by saying *Amen* our focus comes back to the matter at hand. Nevertheless the *Amen* brings about the answering of our prayer, for *Amen* is the recognition that our prayer has been heard.[6] Wherefore Rabanus said: "by the Lord having said *Amen*, He signifies that without doubt that on those who do not fail to keep the pact of the added condition, all things which they asked for properly are conferred by the Lord."[7] This condition certainly is to forgive our debtors, which we discussed above.[8] And thus concludes this exposition of this most holy prayer.[9]

Augustine wrote about the perfection and sufficiency of this blessed prayer in his letter *To Proba*: "If you run through in your mind all the words of the prayers of the saints you will find nothing that is not contained in the Lord's Prayer.[10] Whatever other words we might say, which the affections of the one praying might come up with, nothing other would we say than that which is in the Lord's Prayer if we pray rightly and fittingly.[11] For who said, *make yourself manifest among all the peoples just as you have been made manifest in us*,[12] what is this saying other than *Holy Be They Name*? Who said, *Show us*

faciem tuam et salvi erimus, quid aliud dicit quam[73] *adveniat regnum tuum*? Qui[74] dicit,[75] *gressus meos dirige secundum eloquium tuum*, quid aliud dicit quam *fiat voluntas tua*? Qui[76] dicit,[77] *divitias et paupertates*[78] *ne dederis*[79] *michi*,[80] quid aliud dicit[81] quam[82] *panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie*?[83] Qui[84] dicit, *Memento domine*[85] *David et omnis mansuetudinis eius*,[86] et *si reddidi retribuentibus michi*[87] *malum*,[88] quid aliud dicit quam *dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittitimus debitoribus nostris*?[89] Qui[90] dicit, *Aufer a me concupiscientias*,[91] quid aliud dicit quam *ne nos inducas in temptationem*?[92] Qui[93] dicit, *Erue*[94] *me ab*[95] *inimicis meis*[96] *deus meus*,[97] quid aliud dicit quam[98] *libera nos a malo*? Et subdit Augustinus:[99] Quisquis[100] autem id[101] dicit quod ad istam evangelicam partem pertinere non possit carnaliter orat. Qui enim dicit in oratione: domine, multiplica divitias meas et honores meos[102] auge, et[103] hoc dicit[104] eorum concupiscientias[105] habens non id[106] attendens ut ex hiis secundum[107] deum[108] prosit hominibus, puto[109] eum[110] invenire in oratione dominica quo possit hec vota aptare.[111] Item Cyprianus in libro *De*[112] *oratione dominica* dicit quod Christus in ista oratione magisterio suo omnem precem nostram[113] salutari[114] sermone breviavit. Unde etiam[115] dicit[116] Cassianus in *Collationibus patrum*: hanc orationem omnem[117] perfectionis plenitudinem continere, subdens quod ipsa oratio dominica provehit ad illam igneam et per paucos[118] expertam orationem, que omnem transcendens[119] humanum sensum, nullo necdum[120] sono vocis,[121] sed nec lingue motu distinguitur,[122] sed mens[123] infusione illius celestis[124] luminis illustrata, velut de fonte quodam copiosissimo,[125] illam ubertim atque ineffabiliter eructuat[126] ad deum,[127] tantum[128] promens in illo brevissimo[129] temporis puncto, quanta[130] nec eloqui facile,[131] nec percurrere mens in semetipsum[132] reversa prevaleat.[133]

your face and we will be saved,[13] what is this saying other than *Thy Kingdom Come*? Who said, *direct my steps according to your words*,[14] what is this saying other than *Thy Will Be Done*? Who said, *give me neither riches or poverty*,[15] what is saying this other than *Give Us This Day our Daily Bread*? Who said, *Remember, Lord, David and all his kindness* and *if I pay back evil to those seeking retribution from me*,[16] what is saying this other than *Forgive Us Our Debts As We Forgive Out Debtors*? Who said, *Take away concupiscence from me*,[17] and *If I return evil to those seeking retribution*,[18] what is saying this other than *Lead Us Not Into Temptation*? Who said, *Take me away from my enemies, my God*,[19] what is saying this other than, *Deliver Us From Evil*?"[20] And Augustine added: "Whoever, moreover, says what does not pertain to that part of the Gospel prays carnally,[21] for who says in prayer: 'Lord, multiply my riches and make my honors greater,' and says this desiring these things, not being concerned for them so that from them following God he might benefit human kind, I do not think he finds in the Lord's Prayer how he might be able to fit in these requests."[22] Further, Cyprian in his book *On the Lord's Prayer* said that Christ in that prayer "by his own authority shortened our every prayer with one salvific sentence."[23] Wherefore also Cassian said in *The Conferences of the Desert Fathers* that this prayer contains all plenitude of perfection, adding that the Lord's Prayer "lifts one to that ardent prayer experienced by few, which transcends all human sense, and is distinguished by no sound of the voice, nor by the movement of the tongue, but rather the mind illumined with the infusion of that heavenly light as from a certain most copious font ineffably and abundantly gushes forth the prayer to God, only bringing into view in that most brief point of time such great things that the mind, returning to itself cannot easily relate or recall."[24]

Expositio arboris

Ut[1] autem exclusio[2] vitiorum et introductio virtutum, donorum,[3] beatitudinum et fructuum[4] per singulas petitiones secundum[5] adaptationes premissas lucide et oculatim[6] etiam[7] rudibus et[8] simplicibus patefiant, omnia hec in unam arborem redigere decrevi.

Ad cuius arboris notitiam pleniorem possumus dicere quod hec[9] est arbor illa[10] mystica, quam vidit rex Nabuchodonosor, ut legitur Danielis quarto:[11] *Videbam*, inquid, *et ecce arbor in medio terre; arbor fortis et proceritas eius contingens*[12] *celum, aspectus eius usque ad terminum*[13] *universe terre et*[14] *folia eius pulcherrima et*[15] *fructus eius*[16] *nimius et esca universorum in ea. Subter*[17] *eam habitabant animalia et bestie et in ramis eius conversabantur*[18] *volucres celi*.[19] Arbor ista est oratio dominica ex[20] ipso ore domini[21] procreata, et ideo *fortis est* utpote[22] ab ipsa[23] invincibili veritate producta et plantata, ac in[24] ipsa[25] etiam[26] firmissime radicata.[27] Hec[28] arbor stare dicitur *in medio terre*, id est, in[29] corde humano; cor enim medium est[30] hominis.[31] Nempe[32] non sufficit hanc orationem dicere ore, nisi et[33] intentio versetur[34] in corde,[35] iuxta illud prime[36] Corinthiorum quarto decimo: *Psallam spiritu, psallam*[37] *et mente*. *Proceritas eius usque ad celum pertingit* quia[38] ipsa[39] mentem devotam sursum[40] sublevat et usque ad[41] celum[42] pertingere facit.[43] Ad quod designandum,[44] in summitate arboris pater[45] celestis et[46] due stelle celi,[47] quasi de duabus rosis radiantes depinguntur, ut per[48] hoc[49] proceritas orationis dominice ad celum pertingere innuatur. In duabus quidem[50] rosis stellatis[51] due prime exordiales huius orationis[52] particule describuntur,[53] que velut quedam[54] stelle fulgidissime divini videlicet[55] amoris et celestis desiderii in mente[56] orantis rutilant impetrandi fiduciam excitantes,[57] supra[58] quas in cacumine effigies dei patris collocatur, ad ostendum quod arbor[59] huius[60] orationis sicut ab ipso[61] tota incipit, sic ad ipsum tota[62] dirigitur[63] et per ipsum perficitur et in ipso feliciter consumatur. Et hoc sive accipiatur[64] hic[65] 'pater' essentialiter sive personaliter prout supra in principio est premissum. *Aspectibus*[66] *eius usque ad terminos universe terre*,[67] quia[68] ab omnibus videri[69] et[70] intelligi[71] seu adipisci[72] potest, ipsa[73] enim tante facilitatis evidentie et compendiositatis[74] est ut quilibet cuiuscumque status homo[75] quantumcumque[76] rudis[77] eam[78] possit[79] aspicere, discere[80] et etiam[81] retinere. Unde Cyprianus in libro *De oratione dominica*: cum[82] dominus[83] Ihesus Christus colligens doctos pariter et indoctos omni[84] sexui atque[85] etati precepta salutis addiderit,[86] preceptorum suorum[87]

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_014

Exposition of the Tree of the Virtues and Vices

So that moreover the exclusion of the vices and the introduction of the virtues, gifts, beatitudes, and fruits in the individual petitions as accordingly set forth above might be clear and evident even to the unlearned and simple, I decided to render all these in the image of a tree.[1]

For a more complete understanding of this tree we are able to say that this is that mystical tree which King Nebuchadonosor saw, as read in Daniel 4: *I looked*, he said, *and behold I saw a tree in the center of the earth, a tree strong and its height reached all the way to heaven, it could be seen to the ends of the whole earth and its leaves were beautiful and its fruit was abundant and provided food for all in it. Underneath it were animals and beasts and in its branches the birds of the sky congregated.*[2] That tree is the Lord's Prayer, proceeding forth from the very mouth of the Lord; it is therefore *strong* as it was planted and grew forth from the invincible truth itself, and it is rooted most firmly therein. This tree is said to stand *in the center of the earth* that is, in the human heart, for the heart is the center of man. Truly it does not suffice to say this prayer orally, unless with concentration one goes over it also in one's heart, in keeping with 1 Corinthians 14: *I sing with my spirit, I even sing with my mind.*[3] *Its height reached all the way to heaven* because it lifts the devout mind above itself and makes it reach heaven. To designate this, in the top of the tree is portrayed the father of heaven and two stars of heaven, as if radiating from two roses, so that through this the height of the Lord's Prayer achieves its reach to heaven. In the two roses shining as stars certainly are depicted the first two beginning parts of this prayer, which as stars glowing red most splendidly with divine love and heavenly desire in the mind of the one praying, stimulating the faith in asking, above which in the very summit the effigy of God the Father is placed to show that the tree of this prayer begins completely from God himself, and thus to Him the entire prayer is directed and by Him it is completed and in Him it is happily fulfilled. And this holds true whether the term 'father' is taken here in an essential sense or in a personal sense as discussed above in the beginning of this exposition. *It could be seen to the ends of the whole earth* applies because the Lord's Prayer is able to be seen and understood and appropriated by all, for it is of such evident simplicity and compendiousness that each and everyone regardless of one's status, however unlearned one might be, is able to behold it, learn it, and remember it. Wherefore Cyprian in his book *On the Lord's Prayer* wrote: "When the Lord Jesus Christ gathering together the learned and unlearned alike of both sexes and all ages he imparted to them the precepts of salvation making a great compendium of his commandments

grande[88] compendium fecit[89] ut in disciplina celesti discentium[90] memoria non laboraret,[91] sed quod esset[92] simplici[93] fidei[94] necessarium velociter disceret.

Et ut aspectus huius[95] arboris evidentius appareat, sciendum est quod in ipso trunco seu[96] stipite arboris quasdam puellarum figuras circumambeuntibus eas[97] circulis collocavi,[98] que sunt septem et signat[99] septem[100] petitiones huius sanctissime[101] orationis dominice, que et[102] eisdem circulis inscribuntur. Singule etiam[103] puelle membranas singulas[104] tenent manibus similiter dimembratas[105] iuxta divisionem et[106] dearticulationem cuiuslibet petitionis quales etiam[107] membrane ex primis exordialibus[108] rosis procedere demonstrantur. De qualibet autem puellarum velut ex[109] trunco arboris procedit unus ramus continens virtutes, dona, beatitudines et fructus, que per illam petitionem introducuntur. Et ex opposita[110] parte cuiuslibet rami[111] est alius ramus vitiorum illorum,[112] que per illam[113] petitionem excluduntur,[114] non quidem coniunctus arbori sed distanter[115] in ore bestie illud[116] capitale vitium representantis[117] gestatur; et ad[118] illam bestiam cum ramo suo propellendam,[119] est unus angelus iuxta petitionem quamlibet collocatus[120] ad designandum quod per talem petitionem, tale vitium profugatur. In exordio autem cuiuslibet rami in[121] primo folio ceteris venustiori et maiori inscribitur una de virtutibus principalibus videlicet[122] theologica[123] vel cardinalis. Ex qua alie virtutes in eodem ramo consequenter posite[124] quodam ordine velut per frondes et ramuscillos sive virgas quemadmodum pictura protendit,[125] derivantur vel ad[126] ipsam quomodolibet[127] reducuntur. Hoc attento[128] quod[129] ubicumque videris[130] aliquid[131] ramo superductum vel[132] quasi ipsi ramo transfixum designat quod omnia in[133] illo ramo consequenter exinde[134] procedentia ab illa[135] virtute, que illi folio[136] inscribitur,[137] procedunt vel[138] sub ea qualitercumque continentur, puta sicut partes subiective[139] vel partes potentiales sive[140] etiam[141] integrales.[142] Inscribuntur autem virtutes[143] foliis[144] ea ratione, quia sicut[145] folia arbori deserviunt ad duo videlicet ad arboris decorationem[146] et ad fructus protectionem, sic revera virtutes hominem bonis ornant moribus et nichilominus[147] bonorum operum[148] fructus a temptationum[149] ventis et caninatibus[150] protegunt et defendunt;[151] et hoc est quod dicitur[152] *folia eius pulcherrima*. In singulo[153] quoque ramorum principalium ponuntur[154] aliqui fructus, per quos designantur fructus spiritus,[155] qui sunt duodecim, quos enumerat[156] Apostolus ad[157] Galatas quinto. Et describuntur hii fructus[158] per ramos singulos secundum quod quilibet[159] ipsorum fructuum[160] cuilibet petitioni videtur[161] convenientius[162] adaptari. De quibus fructibus intelligendum[163] est quod subditur,[164] *et fructus eius nimius*, quantum ad fructus spirituales, qui in hac vita acquiri possunt, qui[165] sunt quedam participatio et pregustatio illius supremi[166] fructus beatitudinis eterne, qui per pomum aureum in manu dei

so that in the discipline of heavenly learning the memory might not be over taxed, but might quickly learn what would be necessary for a simple faith."[4]

And so that the sight of this tree might appear all the more evidently, it should be known that on the trunk or base of the tree I have put certain figures of girls encircling the tree in circles, which are seven in number and these signify the seven petitions of this most holy Lord's Prayer, which are also inscribed on the trunk in the same circles. Moreover, each girl holds in her hands a single piece of parchment cut into strips according to the division and articulation of each petition which are shown to have their origins and to come down from the radiating roses at the top of the tree. From each of the girls, moreover, as if from the trunk of the tree proceeds one branch containing the virtues, gifts, beatitudes, and fruits which are introduced by that petition. And on the opposite side of each branch is another branch of those vices which are excluded by each petition; this branch though with its capital vice represented is not connected to the tree, but is apart, carried in the mouth of a beast. And to drive off that beast with its branch is one angel stationed at each petition to designate that through such petition, such a vice is put to flight. In the beginning of each branch, moreover, on the first leaf among other attractive and larger ones is inscribed one of the principle virtues, namely either a theological or a cardinal virtue, from which on the same branched are placed in a certain order just as if forming a picture from the leaves, stems, and twigs, other virtues derived from or in a way reduced to the priniciple virtue. This should be paid attention to: that where ever you see something added to a branch or as if attached to the branch it designates that all things on that branch consequently proceeding from that virtue which is inscribed on that branch's leaf, come from or in some way are contained in that branch and its virtue as if substantive parts, either as potential or even integral parts thereof. The virtues are inscribed on the leaves for the reason that because just as the leaves of a tree have two functions, namely, for the tree's ornamentation and to protect its fruits, so truly the virtues ornament man with good morals no less than they protect and defend the fruits of good works from winds and growling adversaries, and this is what is said: *its leaves are most beautiful*.[5] On each branch also is placed some of the principle fruits, by which is designated the fruits of the spirit, which are twelve in number, which the Apostle listed in Galatians 5.[6] And these fruits are copied onto the individual branches according to which of those fruits seem most fitting to be ascribed to each petition. About the fruits it should be understood what follows: *and abundant fruit*,[7] insofar as these are spiritual fruits which are able to be acquired in this life, which are a certain participation and foretaste of that highest fruit of eternal blessedness, which is signified by the golden apple

patris[167] designatur, ad quem quidem fructum consequendum[168] tota hec[169] oratio principaliter[170] ordinatur.

Ponuntur etiam et[171] alii fructus et[172] immaturi[173] velut[174] ex floribus prodeuntes, et adhuc ipsis floribus coherentes, qui significant[175] beatitudines, que[176] sunt quidam[177] actus ex donis spiritus sancti[178] procedentes neque[179] ad hoc[180] nomen fructus obtinentes, quarum[181] quelibet[182] per illam petitionem[183] introducitur in cuius ramo ipsa crescere figuratur.

Et quoniam in hac oratione[184] non tantum simplices et mediocres, sed et[185] perfectissimi fructum inveniunt,[186] ideo subditur,[187] *et esca universorum in ea*, quia[188] cuiuscumque status et[189] conditionis homo existat,[190] fructum ex hac arbore carpere poterit[191] secundum exigentiam sui status: sive[192] iustus sive peccator,[193] doctus sive idiota,[194] activus sive contemplativus, incipiens,[195] proficiens, sive[196] perfectus. Unde[197] dicit Glossa super Mattheum: dominus[198] noster[199] paucis[200] verbis res[201] multiplices[202] et necessarias[203] memorie commendavit, ut sic simplicitas fidei sufficientiam sue salutis addisceret et prudentia ingeniosorum[204] amplius profunditate mysteriorum stupesceret.[205] Unde hec oratio est[206] quasi[207] quidam fluvius, in quo et agnus peditat[208] et elephas[209] natat[210] sicut de sacra[211] scriptura[212] dicit Gregorius:[213] hinc Isaie[214] sermonem, inquit,[215] abbreviatum[216] faciet dominus[217] super terram, quem ita verbis[218] abbreviavit ut memoriter[219] capi possit, ita rebus implevit ut nemo sine gratia spiritus sancti[220] percipere possit.[221] Quod vero subditur,[222] *subter eam habitabant animalia et bestie*, refertur ad vitia et peccata sive[223] vitiorum suggestiones,[224] quibus orantis animus distrahitur et plerumque homo ab[225] orationis fructu deicitur[226] et frustratur,[227] que[228] tamen[229] divina gratia per ferventem orantis dona cum[230] virtute[231] huius sanctissime[232] orationis propelluntur et excluduntur[233] ac sub affectionum pedibus[234] penitus[235] substernuntur. Et[236] idcirco signanter[237] tales bestie dicuntur subter arborem, non in arbore habitare. Nec tamen in[238] pictura arboris nostre huiusmodi[239] bestias[240] subter arborem sed potius[241] a latere iuxta collocavi, utpote[242] quamlibet bestiam ex adverso illius petitionis quam impugnat, quod ideo feci, ut distinctius appareat quo[243] petitio cui[244] vitio specialiter adversetur.

Sunt autem septem bestie secundum septem vitia capitalia: Prima est Bufo; per quem superbia vel inanis gloria designatur, quia sicut Bufo ad omnem tactum[245] se animat et indignatur,[246] ac per hoc[247] turgescit amplius et inflatur, sic[248] superbus. Versus:[249]

in the hand of God the Father, to the pursuit of which certainly the whole of this prayer is principally ordered.

There are, moreover, other fruits, that are not yet ripe, budding out as if from the flowers, and yet growing along with the flowers, which signify the beatitudes, which are certain acts proceeding from the gifts of the Holy Spirit, not yet sufficiently worthy of the name of fruits, of which each are introduced in their ascribed petition, depicted as growing from the branch thereof.

And since in this prayer not only the simple and those of little learning, but also the most complete scholars are able to find fruit, therefore it is added: *and provided food for all in it*, because a man of whatever status and condition will be able to pluck fruit from this tree in keeping with the conditions of his status: either a righteous man or a sinner; learned or unlearned; one leading the active life or the contemplative life; one beginning on the spiritual journey, one making progress therein, or one already perfect. Wherefore the Gloss on Matthew says: "our Lord committed a multiplicity of things and necessities to the memory with few words so that thus the simplicity of faith might learn what is needed for salvation and the prudence of those with great abilities might stand in awe in the profundity of its mysteries."[8] Wherefore this prayer is as a certain river, in which the lamb might walk and the elephant bathe, just as Gregory said about Holy Scripture: "thus this word of Isaiah," he said, "the Lord abbreviated on earth, which is made short in words so that it would be able to be held by the memory, though filled with substance so that no one without the grace of the Holy Spirit would be able to grasp it."[9] That which then follows, *underneath it were animals and beasts*,[10] refers to the vices and sins, or the suggestions of the vices, by which the spirit of one praying is dragged away from focusing its attention on the prayer and many a man thereby fails to obtain the fruit of the prayer and is frustrated. These vices and sins, though, are driven off by divine grace through the gift of fervent prayer with the virtue of this most holy prayer and are excluded and even throughly stomped out under the feet of the affections. And therefore significantly such beasts are said to reside under the tree, not in the tree, though in the picture of our tree, I have placed these beasts not under the tree but rather gathered to the side of the tree, in as much as each beast is placed on the opposite side of that petition which it fights against, which therefore I did so that it might be even clearer how the petition especially battles against its respective vice.

There are then seven beasts corresponding to the seven capital vices. The first is the bullfrog, by which pride or vain glory is signified, because just as a bullfrog gets worked up and indignant any time it is touched, and thus puffs up more and more and becomes inflated, so does one who is filled with pride. Hence the verse:

Est tumide rane
similata superbia plane.

Et quia ruta naturaliter habet fugare Bufonem hinc est quod angelus Bufoni contrarius cum ruta est depictus.[250]

Secunda bestia est Luter;[251] in quo[252] avaritia designatur. Unde[253] versus:[254]

ceu Luter[255] servat
cupidus res et[256] coacervat.

Tertia bestia est Canis; in quo designatur[257] invidia quia:[258]

dum canis os rodit,
socium quem diligit, odit.[259]

Unde invidi dente[260] canino mordere dicuntur. Unde versus:[261]

More[262] canis rodit
mordens quos invidus[263] odit.

Quarta bestia est Ursus; in quo gula signatur,[264] quia Ursus[265] omnia comedit indifferenter, ut dicit Aristoteles[266] sexto De animalibus. Unde versus:[267]

Cui venter deus est[268]
velut ursus gluto vorax[269] est.

Quinta bestia est Ericius, aut Hyricius;[270] in quo[271] ira designatur, quia[272] quando aliquid persentit[273] statim spinas suas exasperat et in globum conversus in sua se arma recolligit.[274] Versus:[275]

ericii more
sevis[276] homo stulte[277] furore.

Sexta bestia est Sus;[278] in quo[279] est[280] luxuria, ex[281] eo quod se ceno[282] et[283] luto ingurgitat[284] et in locis fetidis[285] requiescat. Versus:[286]

Gaudet luxosus[287]
coitu quasi spurco[288] luto sus.

A frog confident
is pride fraudulent.[11]

And because rue naturally puts a frog to flight, hence it is that the angel opposing the frog is depicted with leaves of rue.

The second beast is the otter, in which avarice is signified. Hence the verse:

As an otter protects
so a greedy man his things collects.

The third beast is a dog, in which envy is signified, because while a dog gnaws on a bone, he hates his companion whom he loves. Wherefore the envious are said to kill with the teeth of a dog. Hence the verse:

With the character of a dog gnawing a bone
the murderous envious man hates his own.[12]

The fourth beast is a bear, in which gluttony is signified, because the bear eats everything in his sight without distinction, as Aristotle said in book six of his work *On Animals*.[13] Hence the verse:

He for whom his belly is God
is as a voracious bear, a gluttonous sod.

The fifth beast is a porcupine, in which anger is signified, because when a procupine senses something, immediately he extends his spines and rolls himself up into a ball in defense. Hence the verse:

In a porcupine fashion
a raging man wallows in foolish passion.

The sixth beast is a pig, by which luxury is signified, in that a pig immerses himself in filth and mud and takes his rest in stinking places. Hence the verse:

The man of luxury rejoices in getting laid
as a pig wallowing in its sty depraved.

Septima[289] est Asinus; in quo[290] designatur[291] accidia, quia est animal iners et pigrum.[292] Versus[293] est:

Ut[294] Asellus iners[295]
omnisque[296] boni[297] pigri[298] expers.

Harum siquidem bestiarum quelibet gestat in ore ramum exustum cum foliis nigris quibus[299] vitia[300] inscribuntur ad designandam vitiorum deformationem.[301] Et in primo cuiuslibet rami folio contingente[302] ipsum ramum inscribitur[303] vitium capitale cuius filie in sequentibus foliis insignantur.[304]

Cuilibet etiam istorum ramorum insidet una avis utpote illius vitii maiorem similitudinem gerens,[305] verbi gratia: Ramo superbie insidet Pavo, in quo superbia designatur propter glorificationem[306] pennarum. Unde versus:[307]

extollit[308] plana[309]
quasi pavo gloria vana.

In ramo avaritie residet Monedula, pro eo quod semper congregat et furata[310] abscondit. Unde versus:[311]

que[312] cupidus cumulat
ut[313] avara Monedula servat.[314]

In ramo invidie[315] Vultur, qui[316] est avis[317] invidiosa in[318] tantum quod etiam[319] invidet propriis pullis, cum impinguantur. Unde tunc eos eicit de nido nec[320] redire permittit. Unde[321] versus:[322]

Vulturus[323] invidia
proprios detrudit in ima.

In ramo gule sedet[324] Corvus, qui[325] est avis voracitati intenta. Unde versus:[326]

in nimiis[327] escis
quasi Corvus gluto[328] quiescis.[329]

In ramo ire[330] Pica,[331] que est avis[332] rixosa. Unde[333] versus:

The seventh beast is an ass, in which sloth is signified, because an ass is an animal sluggish and lazy. Hence the verse:

> As a torpid ass should
> the slothful man is barred from all good.

Each of these beasts chews in its mouth a burned branch with black leaves on which the vices are inscribed to designate the destruction of the vices. And on the first leaf of each branch contingent to that branch is inscribed a capital vice whose daughters are marked on the subsequent leaves. On each of those branches, moreover, sits a bird, bearing the likeness of the vice there represented. For example, on the branch of pride sits a peacock, which signifies pride on account of its plumage. Hence the verse:

> the flat is magnified
> as a peacock full of pride.

On the branch of avarice sits the jackdaw, since the jackdaw is always gathering things and what he steals, he hides away. Hence the verse:

> the greedy man agglomerates
> as an avarice jackdaw accumulates.

On the branch of envy is the vulture, which is an invidious bird to the extent that it even envies its own young as they eat and grow. Wherefore the vulture then throws them out of the nest, and does not allow them to return. Hence the verse:

> The envious vultue will throw
> its own young out of the nest below.

On the branch of gluttony is the raven, which is a bird with a voracious capacity. Hence the verse:

> A glutton's appetite is never staven
> as that of a rapacious raven.

On the branch of anger is the magpie, which is a quarrelsome bird. Hence the verse:

ira velut Pica
rixis est semper amica.

In ramo luxurie sedet[334] Passer, qui est[335] avis valde libidinosa[336] in tantum etiam quod caro eius frequenter in cibum sumpta est libidinis incitativa, ut dicit Constantinus. Unde versus:[337]

Passer ut[338] alatur
libidine non satiatur.

Ut[339] alatur, id est, ut[340] incipit alas habere tunc enim[341] incipit[342] statim[343] luxuriari.[344]

Ramo[345] vero[346] accidie insidet[347] Bubo, que[348] est parva noctua.[349] Est enim[350] avis onusta quidem[351] plumis, sed gravi semper detenta pigritia, die et[352] nocte commorans[353] in cavernis et sepulchris. Debilis est ad volandum et alie aves de die volant in circuitu eius et deplumant ipsum;[354] sic est de accidiosis et de[355] pigris. Unde versus:[356]

sic piger in strato[357]
quasi Bubo cumbit in antro.

His avibus vitiosis[358] adversantur columbe in ramis virtutum residentes; de quibus intelligendum est quod subicitur,[359] *et in ramis eius conversantur*[360] *volucres celi*. Per istos volucres dona[361] spiritus sancti intelliguntur. Unde in figura columbe depinguntur tenentes[362] singule suos[363] flores[364] in ore, quibus ipsa dona[365] spiritus sancti[366] sunt inscripta ad designandum quod hec dona spiritus sancti[367] animam spiritualibus carismatibus floridam faciunt et fecundam. In quolibet autem ramo illarum[368] septem[369] principalium virtutum una columba residet, quia per quamlibet petitionem unum donum introducitur quod[370] etiam illi virtuti specialiter coaptatur.[371] Hanc itaque[372] arborem plene intelligere, et eius fructus digne carpere nobis concedat[373] huius orationis sanctissime, sapientissimus[374] auctor Ihesus Christus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat unus[375] deus gloriosus, per infinita secula seculorum.[376] Amen.

Explicit expositio orationis dominice, edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per fratrem Iordanum de Quetelingburg, ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini M CCC xxvii, cum Mattheum ordinarie lectitaret, qui etiam ad maiorem utilitatem hanc lecturam secundum numerum decalogi decem lectionibus contentam compendiose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsatus instantibus auditorum.[377]

a friend always furious
is a mapgie acrimonious.

On the branch of luxury sits the sparrow, which is a very libidinous bird to the extent that it even often eats its own flesh being so worked up with craving, as Constantine said. Hence the verse:

As soon as the sparrow can fly
its insatiable lust will never die.

As soon as it can fly, that is, as a sparrow first uses its wings to fly, from that point on it begins to luxuriate.

On the branch of sloth sits the owl, which is a nocturnal bird. The owl is a bird that is heavy with feathers, but weighed down so is lazy, remaining in caverns and caves day and night. The owl can scarcely fly and other birds fly circles around an owl thereby taking away his plumage. The same is the case for those who are slothful and lazy. Hence the verse:

a lazy man lounging in bed
is as an owl in a cave as good as dead.

Opposing these vicious birds are doves residing on the branches of the virtues, which are understood as the birds in Nebachodonosor's dream when it was said: *and birds of the sky congregated in its branches*.[14] These birds are interpreted as the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore in this image doves are depicted holding their own individual flowers in their mouths, on which are written the gifts of the Holy Spirit to designate that these gifts of the Holy Spirit make the soul glow with spiritual gifts and make it fertile. In each branch of the seven principle virtues sits one dove, because through each petition one gift of the Holy Spirit is introduced which is especially fitting for the corresponding virtue. To understand this tree fully and to be able to grasp its fruits, the author of this most holy prayer, the wisest author of all, Jesus Christ, has conceded to us, who with the Father and Holy Spirit lives and reigns one God most glorious, now and for evermore, Amen.

Here ends the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, read and published in the schools of Erfurt by brother Jordan of Quedlinburg, of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine, in the year of our Lord 1327, when he lectured ordinarily on the Gospel of Matthew, who, being moved by the urgings of his students, took care to communicate and revise these lectures for their greater usefulness according to the number of the Decalog, wherefore this Exposition consists of ten lectures.

Notes

∵

Notes on the Text

Lectio prima

1 Incipit Expositio orationis dominice] *deest* Berlin, StB MS theol. fol. 132, fol. 247^{v}; Sequitur Expositio orationis dominice. Quia in proximo precedenti evangelio in sermone eiusdem evangelii plura dicuntur de orationibus nonnulla etiam ibi tanguntur de oratione dominica que est omnium orationum primiceria, et quia etiam modo est tempus Rogationum, ideo prohemium dantiore [*sic*] istius materie deductione decrevi expositionem orationis dominice alias auctore domino per me editam hic inserere per instructionem legentium posteriorum. *Sermo* 288 G Quia in precedenti proximo evangelio et in sermone subsequente plura dicuntur de orationibus nonnulla etiam ibi tanguntur de oratione dominica que est omnium orationum primiceria, et quia etiam modo est tempus Rogationum, ideo pro abundantione istius materie deductione decrevi expositionem orationis dominice alias auctore domino per me editam hic inserere ad instructionem legentium posteriorum. *Sermo* 288 S

2 pater noster] *om.* E qui *add.* C etc. *add.* D

3 prefationem sive] *om.* B

4 que] quam F

5 huic … est] ⟨B⟩eatus Gregorius in officio misse huic orationis sacratissime unum premittit prologum qui talis est E

6 Et divine … dicere] *om.* B F

7 Gregorius] beatus Gregorius F S

8 In … facit] Ad istius sanctissime orationis dominice evidentiam clariorem E

9 Primo … premittit] Primo tangitur eius eminenciam et dignitas in eo quod dicitur

10 et divina institutione formati] *om.* A D F G

11 Indicit] ostenditur E inducit F S

12 nobis] in nobis E *om.* F

13 audaciam] fiduciam vel audaciam G

14 confidentiam] audaciam et impetranti confidentiam F

15 orandi … subiungit] audacia orandi et confidentia cum subiungitur E

16 cuiuslibet] rei *add.* C D F G S

17 colligitur] tollitur A

18 tanguntur] dantur A

19 Dignitas … orationis] Quantum ad primum est sciendum quod eminencia et dignitas cuilibet rei ex suis causis colligitur. Nam ex eminencia cause dependet nobilitas causati. Unde causa nobilior producit effectum nobiliorem. Sunt autem istius sacratissime orationis quatuor cause scilicet materialis, finalis, efficiens, et formalis. E

20 Materialis … dicit] Causa materialis tangitur in prologo cum dicitur E dicit] dicitur S

21 salutaribus] moniti *add.* G

22 iste] cause *add.* F

23 preceptis] preceptis dominicis S

24 de necessitate] ad necessitatem F

25 Nam … salutis] Omnes enim orationes sunt de hiis que sunt de necessitate salutis eterne E *om.* D

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_015

26 in libro] *om.* E
27 istam] hanc E
28 orationem] dominicam *add.* E
29 patet] patebit E
30 posita in fine presentis] circa finem istius E
31 finalis] finalis causa F S
32 finalis … dicit] Secundo tangitur causa finalis cum additur E dicit] cum dicitur S
33 adipiscamur] adipiscamus F
34 ne] *om.* F
35 petere] *om.* C
36 pertingamus] attingamus F
37 In hac autem … ad finem] *om.* B
38 eterne] *om.* C
39 removeantur impeditiva] removeamur impedimenta F
40 patet] patebit S
41 infra] *om.* F
42 in] *om.* G
43 Monitio … tertia] Monicio enim fit propter finem vel ut finem adipiscamur vel ut non decidamus a fine. Utrumque enim istorum in hac sacra oratione continetur; ordinatur enim ut per ipsam adipiscamur finem beatitudinis eterne et ut per ipsam removeamur ab impedimento beatitudinis eterne. E
44 efficiens] efficiens causa D F S
45 innuitur] tangitur S
46 Efficiens … dicitur] Tercio tangitur hic causa efficiens cum additur et E
47 divina] *om.* S
48 puta] et E
49 Christo] filio dei *add.* E
50 nuncupatur] dicitur S
51 ob] ab G
52 et maxime exaudibilis] *om.* F
53 Propter … sicut] Quia propter hec oratio efficacissima est merito exaudibilis, quia ut E
54 exaudit] exaudiret E excludit F
55 non] *om.* F
56 dictavit] dictaret E
57 verba] filii *add.* D
58 Cognoscit … exposuit] Pater enim scit et recipit sensus non autem verba que humana ratio cogitavit sed que sapientia patris exposuit E
59 et] *om.* C unde E
60 sic] *om.* E
61 habeamus] habemus F
62 pro peccatis nostris] *om.* S
63 quando] quando nos B
64 peccatores] *om.* D
65 petimus] *om.* F
66 nostri] *om.* C

67 cum … verba] Cum habeamus filium advocatum ad patrem pro peccatis nostris, ideo nos peccatores pro dilictis nostris petentes advocati nostri verba promamus id est dicamus E
68 est … dictata] efficacissima singulari dotatione a Christo est dotata E dictata] dotata B C D F S
69 si enim] cum aliquis E
70 est] *om.* S
71 est dictans] dictaret B F
72 aliquam] *om.* F
73 est … orationem] orationem aliquam componeret E
74 dotat] dote F
75 gratia] et gratia dotaret F
76 certam] *om.* C
77 puta … eam] *om.* F
78 dotat … est] munere dotaret scilicet dando indulgentiam ut patet E est] enim F
79 de] in F
80 vicesimi secundi] qui edidit quandam orationem *add.* E
81 domini] ad quam dicendam singulis referentibus spiritualem indulgentiam condonavit *add.* E de passione domini] *om.* F
82 Christum] quod Christus filius dei E
83 suam] hanc sacratissimam E
84 singulari] singularis C E G
85 gratie] gratia F
86 dotasse] dotaverit E
87 impossibile] *om.* E
88 est] non est E
89 aliquam orationem] aliqua oratio E
90 esse uberiorem] salubrior E
91 sit] *om.* D G
92 sit ista] istam A
93 specialiter] *om.* F
94 efficentiam] efficaciam S
95 est enim … impetrativa] *om.* F
96 ex] in F
97 iam] *om.* S
98 premissis] est enim hec oratio magis exaudibilis quasi omnibus et impetrativa *add.* F
99 et] *om.* F est S
100 proiecta] provectiva S *om.* F
101 provehimus] *om.* S provectiva F
102 provehit] provolet F
103 paucos] paucis S
104 quam … in fine] *om.* F
105 enim] etiam tertio S F
106 et magis … expulsiva] *om.* E immo nec eque … venialium expulsiva] *om.* A C D G; expulsiva] expiatio F expiativa S
107 propter quod] secundum F S

108 Augustinus] dicit Beatus Augustinus E Augustinum F S
109 alii] alios F S
110 sancti] sanctos F S
111 dicunt] *om.* E dicant G
112 ipsam] hanc orationem E
113 dicunt ipsam … peccatorum] *om.* F S
114 nec] et non est E
115 quantoplures] quando E F quam plures G
116 alios] plures *add.* F
117 licet] offere B *om.* F
118 habeant] habeat F S
119 quos] quas C
120 uniuscuiusque orantis devotionem] *om.* B
121 effectus … dispensat] salubriores effectus licet nobis latentes in nobis sunt, ergo nec quos deus vere orantibus largitur infundit et dispensat E
122 dicit] dicitur F S
123 formalis … formati] quarto tangitur causa formalis in hoc quod dicitur formati E
124 petendorum] petendarum F
125 est] *om.* D
126 quidem] *om.* F
127 hec enim … quia] ista enim oratio dat nobis formam orandi et audaciam petendi E quia] *om.* D
128 hiis] in hiis B F
129 contineatur] includatur sive contineatur F
130 huic orationi … vitam] cum sit tocius nostri effectus informativa, in hac oratione in suis septem petitionibus nichil deest quod non contineatur in ea de hiis que sunt pro salute et gratia impetranda E
131 et Augustinus ad Probam] et ideo beatus Augustinus dans ad Probam dicit E Probam] dicit *add.* D
132 inquit] *om.* E
133 congruenter] congrue E
134 aliud dicere] addicere G
135 nisi] non G
136 quod] ipse *add.* D
137 ut] et C D F G
138 quantum] quantum etiam S
139 etiam] *om.* G
140 ponitur] ponuntur C F S
141 infra] in F
142 lectione] petitione F
143 per plura … tertia] ipse declarat per multa ut patebit in fine in arbore. Et ideo dicit Ysaias: sermonem inquit abreviatam faciet dominus super terram quem ita verbis abreviavit ut memoriter capi possit E
144 petendi] orandi F
145 secundo … dicere] secundo dixi quod in prologo predicto innuitur nobis audacia orandi et fiducia petendi E

146 quanta] est *add.* E
147 quod] ut F
148 factura factorem] creatura creatorem *add.* E
149 audeat] audet D S
150 nuncupare] appellare E
151 ausus] *om.* F
152 est] *om.* C
153 quis … ut] Numquam enim aliquis ita ausus fuit in veteri lege ut deum patrem appellaret propter quod E
154 deus] *om.* E dominus F
155 loquebatur] dicebatur C E G
156 deus] dicitur C G S igitur F
157 nunc deus pater] nunc dicitur pater noster E
158 timore] in timore E
159 amore] in dilectionis amore E
160 servimus] nobis ut filiis loquitur *add.* D
161 et] ideo *add.* E
162 beatus] *om.* S
163 in] de D
164 dicit] inquit S
165 sic] *om.* E F
166 populo] ad populum E
167 diceret] dicerent C D E G
168 eis] *om.* D
169 filii] alii C
170 confidenter clamaus] audemus dicere E
171 4] *om.* F
172 audenter] audacter F
173 ergo] *om.* C
174 abba … noster] pater noster etc. Dicitur autem hec oratio dominica quia divinitus a domino celi et terre est instituta et ab eius ore dictata que inchoatur sic: Pater Noster. Ad formam tractamus que in divisione libri consistit accedamus E
175 dividitur autem hec oratio] dividitur autem hoc opusculum in partes tres scilicet E
176 subditur] subiungitur S
177 sanctificetur] sanctificetur nomen tuum F S
178 etc.] *om.* D F G
179 fine] finem F
180 subnectitur] adiungitur B
181 in exordium … Amen] in exordium in quo capiatur benevolentia et tractatum in quo petitiones ordinantur et in conclusionem qua petitionum confirmatio denumeratur. Prima pars tangitur in principio cum dicitur pater noster qui es in celis; secunda tamen subiungitur: sanctificetur nomen tuum; tercia in fine cum concluditur: Amen. E
182 dubitaret] dubitet F
183 videmur] videtur D F
184 qui] quia F

185 prevenit] prevenitur F
186 sed … prevenit] *om.* D F
187 quoniam] quia S
188 prima] *om.* F
189 circa … quarto] Circa primum notandum quod occurrit dubitatio aliquis enim dubitaret utrum hic sit captatio sub benevolencia illius est frustra qui ipsam precepit; sed deus in benivolentia precedit quia prius dilexit nos ut patet Iohannis quarto E quarto] octavo F *om.* G
190 ergo] igitur D
191 superflue … benevolentie] ergo videtur superfluum et vanum captare benevolentiam E benevolentie] ut videtur *add.* B C
192 ad quod] *om.* S
193 dicendum] est dicendum E
194 in] *om.* C
195 captatio … Augustinum] ista captatio sub benevolencia non orrdinatur ad deum, sed propter nos; non enim capitur benevolencia ob hoc ut deus flectatur, sed ordinatur propter hoc ut fiducia petendi in nobis excitetur et hoc patet per beatum Augustinum dicentem E secundum Augustinum] unde Augustinus F
196 est] *om.* B
197 semper] *om.* F
198 accipere] eam *add.* F
199 unde] qua propter E
200 devotionis] *om.* B
201 est] quasi *add.* F
202 quedam] *om.* E
203 que est … captatio] *om.* B
204 duobus] modis *add.* F
205 econtraria] secundo F
206 fiducia] illa fiducia F
207 petendi] impetrandi D
208 dilectionem] dilectationem D
209 id] illud F G
210 duo] dictio D
211 consideranda] considerando D *om.* G
212 iam] nam F S
213 det] *om.* F
214 filiis petentibus] in filiis petentibus se F
215 enim] etiam C
216 quilibet] quibus C D G
217 Igitur quod … potitus est] et sic patet obiectum quia licet deus prevenerit captationem benivolentie quantum est ex se tamen non nunquam est ex parte nostri eo quod excitat nos oportebat fieri captationem benivolencie. Secundo est notandum quod per istam orationem datur nobis fiducia petendi. Sed aliquis non habet fiduciam petendi principaliter ex duobus. Primo quia presumit eum quem rogat non posse dare quod petit. Econverso audaciam petendi aliquis acquirit duplex: considerando dilectionem eius quem potest,

aut considerando maiestatem, quia habet potenciam dandi. Hec duo innuitur in exordio presenti, et ratione primi dicitur pater noster. Pater enim diligit filium qua propter faciliter exaudit eum. Ratione secundi additur: qui es in celis, eo enim quod Christus est in celo maiestatem eius cognoscimus, quia locis nobilior debetur locato nobiliori, et in hoc secundum commentatorem conveniunt omnes nationes scilicet barbari, grece, et latini, quod locum qui sursum est deo attribuunt. E dicit enim … potitus est] *om.* F S potitus est] petit G

218 est autem] *om.* F
219 ipse] *om.* F
220 est … deus] Tercio notandum quod deus E
221 ab eo] a deo E eo] ipso F
222 accepimus] recepimus F
223 recreatione] creatione C
224 sive redemptione] *om.* F
225 et] *om.* F S
226 scilicet … communicatione] primum scilicet esse est esse nature, quod ab ipso accepimus in creatione sive redemptione. Tercium esse est esse glorie quod accipiemus in regni communicatione. E *'secundum esse' hic deest*
227 pirmo] esse nature scibitur *add.* E
228 trigesimo tertio] trigesimo secundo G
229 non] *om.* E
230 et] *om.* G S
231 et creavit te] etc. B *om.* E
232 inquam] te *add.* E
233 creavit] te *add.* E
234 possedit] te *add.* E
235 secundo] dicit *add.* E
236 et] *om.* S
237 et redemptor noster] *om.* C noster] *om.* F
238 veritatis] ut dicitur *add.* E
239 primo] quinto D secundo capitulo E secundo C G Iacob primo] *om.* F
240 Galatarum] ad Galatas E F
241 quarto] octavo F
242 sed filius quod si] *om.* D
243 deum] de quo dicitur *add.* E
244 ad] et ad C D G et S
245 hoc] autem *add.* E
246 quod a deo recepimus *om.* E recepimus] accepimus C G S
247 correspondet] corresponderet D
248 triplicibus] tribus F G
249 accepit] recipit E accipit F
250 patre] carnali *add.* E
251 beneficium] *om.* F
252 primum beneficium est generationis] quorum primum est beneficium generationis E
253 quo] filius a patre *add.* E

254 quo in esse nature] quo ratione nature D nature] *om.* E
255 producitur quantum ad primum] producitur homo enim generat hominem et sol E
256 educationis] deducationis C
257 quantum ad secundum] *om.* E
258 tertium beneficium] tertium est beneficium C tertium beneficium est D E
259 hereditationis] hereditatis C
260 quo] quod E
261 ducitur] dicitur E
262 quantum] quo D G
263 quantum ad tertium] *om.* E
264 tria] esse *add.* E
265 illo] hoc F
266 poetico] apostoli S
267 comprehenduntur … decimo] quilibet correspondent hec tria beneficia explicavit beatus Paulus illo dicto poetico Actuum septimo decimo dicens E quod assumit Paulus Actuum septimo decimo] *om.* S septimo decimo] octavo decimo C
268 vivimus] et *add.* F
269 sumus] sentimus E
270 sumus … gloria] vivimus inquam in natura, movemur in gratia et scivimus sive sentivimus in gloria E
271 a nobis] *om.* A E G
272 secundi] est *add.* E
273 amabilis] laudabilis F
274 tertii] est *add.* E
275 maxime] valde et maxime E
276 desiderabilis] S *add.*: Notandum autem quod in hoc triplici beneficio omnia divina beneficia erga nos exhibita comprehenduntur, ut patet ducenti. In hoc ergo quod dicimus 'pater', remomoramur omnia beneficiorum dei. Et ex hoc mens orantis surgit ad devotas et internas gratiarum actiones. Ex quibus ulterius mens in oratione erigitur et ad devotionem ferventius excitatur, iuxta illud Psalmi: In meditatione mea exardescet ignis. Dupliciter igitur in hoc verbo 'pater' mens ad orandum bene disponitur. Tum quia ex affectu paterno dei quem habet ad nos, fiducia petendi excitatur ex ea parte, qua vult dare quid petimus, ut dictum est statim supra auctoritate Augustini et patebit infra in secunda dubitatione. Tum quia ex beneficiorum dei rememoratione mens ad devotionem maxime inflammatur. Et hoc est quod dicit Chrysostomus, quod hoc verbo 'pater' mens orantis dupliciter erigitur: et dignitate eius, quae invocatur, et magnitudine beneficiorum, quibus orans potitus est. Dicamus ergo 'pater noster' exorabilis ex paterna dilectione, quantum ad primum dispositivum mentis; sed quantum ad secundum dispositivum predictorum trium et per consequens omnium beneficiorum dei gratam recognitionem. F *add.*: Notandum quod in hoc triplici beneficio omnia divina beneficia erga nos exhibita comprehenduntur, ut patet ducenti. In hoc ergo quod dicimus 'pater', remomoramur omnia beneficiorum dei. Et ex hoc mens orantis surgit ad devotas et internas gratiarum actiones. Ex quibus ulterius mens in oratione erigitur et ad devotionem ferventius excitatur, iuxta illud Psalmi: In meditatione mea exardescet ignis. Dupliciter igitur in hoc verbo 'pater' mens ad orandum bene disponitur. Tum quia ex affectu paterno dei quem

habet ad nos, fiducia petendi excitatur ex ea parte, qua vult dare quid petimus, ut dictum est statim supra auctoritate Augustini et patebit infra in secunda dubitatione. Tum quia ex beneficiorum dei rememoratione mens ad devotionem maxime inflammatur. Et hoc est quod dicit Chrysostomus, quod hoc verbo 'pater' mens orantis dupliciter erigitur: et dignitate eius, qua vocatur, et magnitudine beneficiorum, quibus orans petitus est.

277 oramus ergo] ergo dicamus E dicamus F dicamus sic S
278 ratione primi … communicatione] *om.* D
279 hec particularia] hac particula C D G S hanc particulariam F
280 cadunt … est] Sed est notandum quod occurrunt tres dubitationes quarum prima est ista E est] *om.* G
281 orationem] deprecationem E
282 se] ipsum E seipsum F
283 ut diceremus] dicendo E F
284 Christe] Christus F
285 etc.] *om.* D E F
286 vel] aut D
287 etc. huius] *om.* G huius] huiusmodi E F
288 quod] cum F
289 tamen] cum B
290 videretur esse] videtur C G
291 sit] nobis *add.* C F G S
292 nature] nature nostre C nostre nature G
293 quare] igitur F S
294 quod tamen … etc.] et videtur quod pocius orationem direxisset ad se quia est nobis magis coniunctus ratione perceptionis humane nature et quia per ipsum sumus redempti E quare etc.] *om.* G
295 quod] et sic F
296 et] *om.* C
297 accepit] a patre *add.* F
298 ideo patri … attribuit] *om.* F
299 quia … octavo] quod Christus orationem convenienter direxit ad patrem quia nascendo esse a patre contraxit, et ut dicit Augustinus super Iohannem patri omnem honorem attribuit et hoc est quod dicitur Iohannis octavo E
300 ego] enim *add.* E
301 non quaero] *om.* A
302 meum] *om.* C F S
303 etc.] *om.* D G qui in celis est E
304 coniuntus] iunctus S
305 nobis] *om.* A ad obediendum D
306 nostra] omnis F
307 a patre] *om.* F
308 qui] quia C
309 in mundum] *om.* F
310 dominica] *om.* C D G

311 patrem] filium F
312 iam] *om.* F
313 quod] hoc *add.* C
314 personis] *om.* D
315 convenit] conveniat F
316 trinitas] in nobis *add.* G
317 et dat] *om.* F
318 quod filius … indivisa] quando dicebatur quod Christus nobis magis coniunctus et quod per ipsum sumus redempti quia redemptio nostra originaliter dependet a deo qui ut nos redimeret filium suum unigenitum misit in mundum qui nos liberaret E
319 est] ista *add.* E *om.* D G S
320 pater] pater noster S
321 dominus] dominus noster S
322 vel] aut D S
323 huius] huiusmodi D G aliquid huius] aliud huismodi F consimile S
324 apellant] appellent F vocant S
325 quare … terrarum] quare pocius diceret pater quam dominus cum hoc nomen dominus magis videatur sonare ad reverentiam et honorem quam pater, propter quod filii nobilium secundum morem quarundam terrarum patres dominos appellant E terrarum] regionum F
326 dixit] dicit C G S dicitur F
327 quod ideo … dictum est] quod dicit pater et non dominus propter fiduciam petendi ut est predictum E ut dictum est] *om.* F
328 autem] vero F
329 a patre] *om.* D patre] exauditur *add.* F
330 a patre facilime] facilime a patre exauditur E facilime] ex facili F
331 unde] propter quod E
332 undecimo] secundo F
333 data] *om.* D
334 vos bona data nostis] bona noscitis E
335 pater] vester *add.* F
336 sonat] om. G
337 reverentiam] honorem et reverentiam F
338 nomen tamen] quia nomen D
339 magis] *om.* D
340 si … confidentiam] quod obicitur quia licet hoc nomen dominus magis sonat in reverentiam et honorem cum hoc nomen pater plus sonat in confidentiam petendi et amorem. Etiam posset dici ad primum objectum quod omnes tres persone hic simul adorantur sed quia pater maior est aliis ideo ad patrem oracio principaliter dirigitur vel eciam potest dici quod li pater non supponit hic personaliter sed essentialiter. Omnes enim tres persone sunt una et eadem essentia. E
341 est] ista *add.* E *om.* G S
342 dixit] dicit S
343 videretur] videtur C D G
344 pluraliter] pluralis C D F G

345 videtur] videretur F
346 quare … pompam] quare Christus dixerit 'pater noster' et non 'pater meus', cum tamen nos summus private persone, locucio autem pluralis dirigitur ad personas dignitatum sicud ad papam E
347 hic] quod C D F G S
348 ad … primo] ad quod est dicendum primo quod Christus fecit hoc E primo] *om.* D primo] *om.* F
349 enim] est *add.* E
350 est] *om.* E
351 singulare] tantum singulare E
352 ideo] *om.* D
353 et ideo … meus] *om.* E
354 autem] vero F
355 per] *om.* E
356 gratiam] gratia E
357 quod est conveniens] quod in nobis est commune E conveniens] commune C D G S
358 signavit] significavit C F
359 cum dixit] *om.* F
360 hanc … vicesimo] et istam differenciam ostendit beatus Johannes vicesimo capitulo dicens E
361 et patrem vestrum] etc. C *om.* F
362 meum inquam] patrem inquam meum E meum inquit F
363 naturam] gloriam S
364 autem] vero F
365 et ideo … communiter] et patrem vestrum per adoptionis gratiam que est in nobis commune E
366 tantum] *om.* F
367 pro] *om.* D
368 secundo … proximis] secunda causa est ista ut quivis non tantum oret pro se sed etiam pro aliis E proximis] proximo F
369 unde] propter quod dicit E
370 libro de] *scripsi*
371 in oratine dominica] in libro de oratione dominica F dominica] *om.* E
372 pacis] debita pacis E
373 unitatis] veritatis F
374 noluit] voluit D F S
375 et] videlicet F
376 ut quis cum] cum quis C
377 tantum] non tantum E
378 ut quis … precetur] ut quis non tamen precatur pro se tantum precetur D
379 enim] et F
380 enim] *om.* C
381 ipse] tempore G
382 ipse omnes] *om.* F
383 etiam] *om.* F

384 altero] vero *add.* D alio G
385 dulcior] dulcius F
386 enim] oratio *add.* G
387 ante] *om.* E
388 transmittit] permittit E
389 habetur] colligitur E
390 oratio] fuerit *add.* E est *add.* F
391 tanto] est *add.* F
392 tertio] dicit noster et non meus *add.* E
393 innuendum] quasi instruendum F insinuandum G
394 omnes] *om.* E
395 tam pauperes quam divite, nobiles et ignobiles] tam pauperes quam nobiles et divites et ignobiles D tam ignobiles] *om.* E
396 unde] propter quod dicit E
397 in libro] *om.* D
398 unde Augustinus … ignobiles] *om.* F
399 quoniam] cum F
400 vere] rite E
401 ac pie] *om.* F
402 dixit] dicit C
403 unde … etc.] et ideo Johannes vicesimo tertio capitulo dicitur: vos autem omnes fratres estis E etc.] *om.* F
404 has] autem *add.* F
405 rationes] lectiones C
406 quasdam] in speciali F
407 has duas … Chrysostomus] ultimas duas causas reddit Crisostomus cum quibusdam aliis causis E
408 dicens] dicendo F
409 sic] om. E
410 inquit] *om.* D
411 noster] inquam *add.* D
412 dicendo, inquit, 'noster' docet] inquit enim pater noster ut doceat E
413 orationem] fieri *add.* D
414 facere] *om.* D
415 proprio] pro proprio E
416 commoda requirere] comodo requirere sed eciam pro proximorum E
417 etiam] enim E
418 hoc etiam ipso] hoc enim etiam ipse F
419 ipso inimicitias interimit] *om.* E interimit] incurrunt D
420 et] *om.* E
421 superbiam … expellit] *om.* C
422 vero] *om.* D E G
423 omnium] scilicet *add.* G
424 bonorum] scilicet *add.* D G
425 introducit humanarum] inducit et humanarum F

426 rerum] et C
427 excludit] et *add.* C D E F G
428 et per] super F
429 solutio] *om.* B C G
430 et … obiectum] *om.* E S *add.*: Sciendum autem quod ex premissis elici potest, quod sicut per hoc nomen 'pater' mens dupliciter ad orandum diponitur, sic per hoc nomen 'noster' similiter disponitur quo ad alia duo. Primum est, quod per hoc mens ordinatur ad dilectionem proximi, ut secunda ratio implicat questionis premisse. Secundum est quod quod mens deprimitur ad humilitatem sui, ut tertia ratio demonstrat. Que duo ad puram orationem necessario preexiguntur, ut patet. De primo, Matthei duodevicesimo, ubi salvator dicit: si duo ex vobis consenserint super teram de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a patre meo. Super quo dicit Origines: Ista est causa propter quod non exaudimur, quia non consentimus nobis per omnia super terram mutua charitate. Sicut enim in musicis nisi fuerit convenientia vocum non delectat audientem, sic in ecclesia nisi consensum habuerint per charitatem videlicet precum communicationem, non delectatur deus in ea, nec audit voces eorum. Hec Origines. De secundo patet per illud Danieli tertio: In animo contrito et spiritu humilitatis suscipiamur. Et in Psalmo: Cor contritum et humilitatum deus non despicies. Et quantum ad hec duo dicamus 'pater noster', id est omnium nostrum communiter, ut preces nostras omnibus communicemus equaliter, ut nos omnes equales esse cogitemus. F *add.*: Sciendum autem ut ex premissis elici potest, quod sicut per hoc nomen 'pater' mens dupliciter diponitur, sic per hoc per nomen 'noster' similiter disponitur ad alia duo. Primum est, quod per hoc mens ordinatur ut dilectionem proximi, ut secunda ratio implicat questionis premisse. Secundum est quod quod mens deprimitur ad humilitationem anime, ut secunda ratio demonstrat. Que duo ad penitentie orationem necessaria preexiguntur, quod patet. De primo, Matthei duodevicesimo, ubi: duo ex vobis consenserint super teram de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet illis de patre meo. Super quo verbo dicit Origines et Augustinus: Ista est causa propter quam non exaudimur, quia non consentimus nobis per omnia super terram scilicet mutua charitate. Sicut enim in musicis nisi fuerit convenientia vocum nisi delectat audientem, sic in ecclesia nisi consensus fuerit per charitatem valet precum communicatio, non delectatur deus in ea, nec audit voces eorum. Hec Origines. De secundo patet et cetera dicendum ideo in spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur domine a te; Psalmo: Cor contritum et humilitatum deus non despicies. Et quantum ad hec duo dicamus 'pater noster', id est omnium nostrum, ut preces nostras omnibus communicemus equaliter, ut omnes equaliter esse cognoscimus.

Lectio secunda

1 qui est in celis] sequitur qui est in celis C E
2 hoc] ubi ostendi quod B hic C F G
3 excitatur] datur S
4 in] *om.* S
5 oramus] petimus et oramus F
6 dare] nobis *add.* F

7 quod petimus] *om.* B hoc … petimus] in qua parte excitatur in nobis fiducia dandi id quod regamus E
8 omnibus] *om.* F
9 attribui] tribui G
10 istis verbis] ista verba F
11 magis] *om.* F
12 deum] *om.* B
13 predictis] predicta F
14 eum] ipsum S
15 comparationem] operationem F
16 considerationem] eius *add.* C F G
17 tanguntur … in se] in quibus verbis tria tanguntur. Primo enim tangitur infinitas, secundo eternitas, tercio maiestas. E
18 tangitur] *om.* C
19 in eo quod dicitur] per hoc nomen E
20 notatur] nominatur vel notatur C
21 eternitas … es] sed eternitas tangitur per hoc verbum substantivum es E
22 sonantium] substantivum B C D G S subiectum F
23 primum resolutione] *om.* F
24 alia] *om.* D
25 quod secundum grammaticos … resoluntur] quod verbum es est verbum substantivum in significatione presens in consignificatione primum in resolutione quia omnia verba in verbum substantium resoluuntur E resoluntur] resolventur F
26 Illud] Ille S
27 est] *om.* C
28 eternum] eternus S
29 quod] qui S
30 per seipsum subsistit a nullo dependens] a nullo dependet sed per seipsum subsistit F
31 quod] et F
32 incommunicabiliter] immutabiliter F
33 persistit] existit B
34 quo] *om.* B
35 maiestas] vero *add.* G
36 notatur] vocatur B
37 cum additur] in hoc quod dicitur S
38 que] celi enim F
39 virtute] *om.* F
40 et] *om.* C D F G S
41 et] *om.* D F S
42 sciendum] dicendum D
43 due] *om.* F
44 eas] hoc F
45 quasi] *om.* S
46 proprio] propria C

47 que tria eternitate … explicatur] et hec tria pertinent ad excellentiam et potentiam dei et sunt communia omnibus tribus personis in divinis, nec sunt alicui alteri attribuendam possibilia propter quod istis verbis magis proprie nominamus ipsum deum quam verbis precentibus scilicet pater noster, quia propter verba precedentia nominamus deum per comparatio ad seipsum et ista tria scilicet infinitas, eternitas, et maiestas convenientissime deo attribuuntur, illud enim est eternum quod a nullo dependet, nec habet aliquam prius se, sic est de deo; ergo et cetera. de primis duobus dicetur simul propter quod sciendum quod ista duo, qui est, convenientissime deo attribuuntur meritum quod per dea deus, qui innomiabilis, proprio nomine nuncupatur sive explicatur E
48 unde] ut patet E
49 quereret] querit E
50 querunt] querant D
51 inquit] inquam D
52 dicam] dicimus D dicatur G
53 inquit] inquam D
54 respondit dominus … misit me] filiis Israel qui es qui misit me qui es D
55 et] hoc *add.* C D G
56 et congruentissime] et hoc convenientissime E
57 sonativo] substantivo B C F G S
58 ut ipse … explicetur] qui es in essentia filii eterne substantie nomine infinito verbo substantivo explicatur E
59 quod] dicit *add.* E F
60 in] *scripsi*
61 De fide orthodoxa] *scripsi*
62 duodecimo] dicit *add.* D
63 quod] et C
64 est quedam] quidem E quedam] quoddam F et quoddam G
65 substantie] substantiale G
66 pelagus] est *add.* E
67 et hoc] quod E Unde G
68 beatus] *om.* F
69 Eugenium] enuchos E
70 dicens] quod *add.* D
71 per] *om.* C
72 que] quia B
73 est] attribuitur *add.* D merito … deus est] deus qui per qui es exprimitur, quo nil revera compescencius est eternitati quia deus est E
74 vel quidquid tale] *om.* D tale] talium E
75 esse] quod esse *add.* S
76 quod] et E
77 talia] *om.* C talium E
78 ab esse] *om.* E
79 si ea] et si E
80 nichil] non F
81 dixeris … si non] *om.* E non] nichil G

82 nichil] nil S non F
83 minuisti] ex quibus patet quod per hec duo, qui es, deum convenientissime nominamus *add.* E minuisti] diminuisti G
84 autem] *om.* C F
85 hic] *om.* S
86 aliquis] quis S
87 possit] posset F
88 cuilibet] quilibet F
89 dubitaret … personarum] sed dubitaret aliquis utrum ista duo scilicet qui es, conveniunt omnibus tribus personis in divinis E
90 et] *om.* F
91 quia] qui es C
92 nomen] *om.* F
93 non] *om.* C
94 non convenit] *om.* D
95 qui] quod C
96 existit] subsistit B C S
97 aliud] aliquid D F
98 videtur] videntur A G videtur vel videntur C
99 qui] quia C
100 est] *om.* S
101 aliud] ad G
102 Sed hoc … se] *om.* D prius] *om.* B
103 prius] *om.* C F S
104 eis] omnium F
105 ergo etc.] *om.* G
106 quod] ut F quia C S
107 supra] *om.* C prius scilicet D
108 quare etc.] *om.* D G
109 simul] *om.* G
110 quod] cum D quia F G S
111 nomen significet] nomen qui es significat F significet] signat G
112 simul] *om.* G
113 omnibus] *om.* D
114 tribus] personis *add.* F
115 etiam] *om.* F
116 nam] cum *add.* S
117 seipsum] seipsam C D se F
118 et videtur quod non … per se subsistit] et videtur quod non quia ista duo solum conveniunt hiis qui a nullo dependent et quibus non est aliquid prius ut patet ex predictis. Sed solus pater a nullo dependet et sic nihil est prius. Filius autem et spiritus sanctus a patre procedunt et habent priorem se, ex quibus concluditur quod hec verba solum conveniant patri et non filio nec spiritu sancto. In contrarium arguitur quia dictum est prius, hec oratio ad totam trinitatem dirigitur, non solum ad patrem. Ideo hec verba debent convenire omnibus tribus personis in divinis. Maior patet ex preexponitis [*sic*]; eadem patet minor

sive consequencia quia omnes tres persone sunt una essencia simpliciter in qua nulla causa distinctio rationalis licet sit distinctio personalis, et ideo quidquid uni attribuitur, ab altero, non removetur. Sed quod conveniat hiis tribus personis secundo declaratur sic quid quelibet personarum per se subsistit et a nullo alius dependet E subsistit] subsistat G

119 quia dicitur] ut patet E
120 et] *om.* F
121 sic … semetipso] sic filius habet vitam in seipso E vitam habere in seipso] etc. G
122 de] *om.* D
123 et similiter de spiritu sancto] similiter et spiritus sanctus E
124 sicut] dicitur *add.* F
125 vita] debita D
126 ita] *om.* G sic S
127 est] *om.* B et *add.* G
128 et sicut … de esse] et sicud dicimus de vita ita diendum est de esse quia viventibus esse est vivere E
129 seipsa] ipsa D
130 licet una sit ab alia] *om.* B
131 alio] alia G
132 aliud] est *add.* G S
133 quelibet … ab alio] ex quo patet quod quelibet persona habet vitam in semetipso et esse qua propter a nullo dependet, sed ad obiectum quod hec verba solum conveniant huic quod a nullo dependet, nec habet prius se, conceditur, quando dicitur quod alie persone dependet a patre, dicendum quod non E
134 dependere] inpendere C ab alio *add.* E
135 dicit] signat D S ostendit F
136 originis] originem F
137 nomen] rationalem B relationem C D G S relationis F
138 quidem] *om.* F
139 aliud] ad G
140 bene habeat alium] enim habent F
141 prioritas durationis … sed est] *om.* F
142 et coevis] *om.* D
143 expremitur nil revera competentius externitati … exemplo de] *om.* C *hic et additur infra post "… celum surgit, secundum Augustinum. Dicamus ergo "et ante" pelagus infinitatis …"* (*fol. 35*$^{a\text{-}b}$) *cum nota: "Illa pars subsequens scilicet 'exprimitur nil' debet precedere illam partem 'sole et de eius' usque ad illam partem 'dicamus qui es in celis'"; variae istius textus secundum textum editum hic infra notatae sunt.*
144 de] ex F
145 eius] *om.* S
146 splendore] que pars prius est scripta *notatur* C
147 et] eius *add.* G
148 solutio] responsio S
149 esse autem … ad obiectum] sed esse ab alio solummodo dicit originis relationem. Unde alie persone in divinis non habent aliud prius se, sed bene habent alium priorem se, et

ista non est prioritas durationis que repugnat eternitati, sed prioritas originis conveniens eternitati, sicut patet de sole et eius splendore et sicut patet secundum Augustinum de pede et vestigio in pulvere, ex quibus patet solutio ad obiectum, quia alie persone non dependet nec habet aliud prius se sed bene habent alius priorem se et talis prioritas non est durativa sed solum originativa. E

150 in] per S

151 dicit] dicitur F S

152 tertium pertinens … in celis] de tercio sciendum quod pertinet ad dei potentiam et eius excellentiam et maiestatem, que exprimuntur per hoc quod dicitur in celis. E

153 autem] enim F

154 scilicet] id est F

155 scilicet] id est C

156 corporales corpora scilicet … sanctas] celestes corporales supercelestia vel celos spirituales animas id est sanctos C

157 etiam] scilicet *add.* G

158 modo] *om.* D

159 hic] *om.* S

160 possumus autem … hic celos] sed hoc exponitur tripliciter. Primo quod per celos intelligamus corpora celestia potentissima in virtute, nobilissima in actione, vel quod per celum vel celos intelligamus spirituales animas iustorum, vel tercio quod per celos intelligamus celos eterne beatitudinis. De hiis tribus patebit per ordinem, scilicet enim per celos intelligamus corpora celestia E

161 statim] *om.* D

162 cadit] hic *add.* F

163 dubium] dubitatio D

164 quia] quare D F G S

165 cum tamen] et cum F

166 claudatur] clauditur F

167 locus esse dei] locus domini esse C dei] *om.* F

168 melioris meriti] meliores merito F

169 quarum] quorum F

170 statim cadit … vicinior] tunc statim occurrit dubitatio quomodo dicatur deus esse in celis cum tamen ibi non locetur coporaliter, sed ubique potencialiter, quia secundum Augustinum deus ullo spacio non continetur, hiis enim animabus in celis locus dei creditur, tunc habes locorum multos meliores multi erunt quarum animarum vita est deo vicinior. E

171 tamen] deus *add.* S

172 esse] *om.* C D

173 rationes] *om.* B dicitur tamen … rationes] sed tamen est notandum quod quinque modis deus dicitur esse in celis intelligendo per celum corpora celestia E

174 primo] prima est S

175 in eis] ibi E

176 magis] *om.* G

177 maiestas] et potentia *add.* E

178 secundo] deus dicitur in celis *add.* E secunda S

179 secundum] ut dicit E
180 augustinum] augustinus E
181 ut] *om.* D contingit quod E
182 tam] quam C S
183 quam] tam C
184 parvulorum] ut *add.* D
185 sensiatur] sensantur F
186 eo] deo E F S
187 qui] quia C
188 qui nondum] quia non E nondum] non F bene *add.* S
189 aliquid] aliquidmodo F
190 cogitare] de deo *add.* D
191 si] quod E
192 credant] credunt G S
193 tertio] deus dicitur esse in celis *add.* E tertia S
194 ut innuat] ad innuendum E hic innuitur F innuat] innuatur C
195 filios] celestos *add.* E filius G
196 dicit] *om.* E
197 substernere] subsistere F subiicere *add.* S
198 tertio … in celis] *add. in marg. infra* G
199 quarto] deus dicitur esse in celis *add.* E quarta S
200 ut] nos *add.* E
201 unde] propter quod dicit E
202 in homelia] *om.* D F G
203 illic eum] enim D ibi eum esse E
204 concludens] includens S
205 abducens] et *add.* E
206 et] in E
207 quinto] fit hoc *add.* E hoc G quinta S
208 celis] celo F
209 inquit] inquam D
210 quam] qua C D F S
211 unde Cassianus … properemus] propter quod dicit Damascianus in Collationibus patrum: in illa inquam regione in qua pagtrem nostru m morari fatemur summo desiderio properemus E
212 propter predictas etiam rationes] et propter istas rationes nos E
213 nos] *om.* F
214 convertimus] nos *add.* D convertimur F
215 secundum Augustinum] *om.* F
216 ego] igitur E
217 seculum] speculum B F
218 speculum] et speculum E excellentia F
219 secundo] *om.* B D illud secundo] *om.* F
220 sanctis] veris *add.* B viris C S id est sanctis] et de viris F
221 celis] *om.* D F

222 potest etiam … gloriam dei] secundo istud qui es in celis potest exponi de celis spiritualibus qui per gratiam celi sunt effectis. Unde psalmista ait: celi enarrant gloriam dei, et iterum: hii sunt celi in quibus Christe habitas in quorum verbis conas; et iterum: hiis dixisti rorate celi de super etc. E dei] et cetera *add.* C S
223 veri] viri F G
224 veri sancti] viri S
225 propter] primo propter S
226 sponsitatem] speciositatem B D F G
227 propter] *om.* F secundo propter S
228 propter] *om.* F tertio propter S
229 dicuntur autem … et dignitatem] isti autem viri sancti per eorum animas divinitus illuminatas dicuntur celi in quibus Christus est et hoc propter triplicem similitudinem quam habet omni celo corporali. Primo propter spiritualis ornatus pulchritudinem et speciositatem; secundo propter celestis conversationis celsitudinem et puritatem; tercio propter divine inhabitationis beatitudinem et dignitatem E
230 quia sicut] *om.* F
231 corporale] corporeum F
232 sole] solis et E et *add.* S
233 et stellis] *om.* E stella F
234 sic illud] sic etiam celum spirituale diversis virtutibus exstat decoratum E sicut illud F
235 unde] et hoc est quod dicit E *om.* F
236 Bernardus] beatus Bernardus E
237 super] *om.* F
238 inquit] *om.* D
239 spirituali] sermone *add.* G
240 puta] *om.* E in *add.* F scilicet S
241 stelle] stella F
242 lucent] lucet et F
243 latent] latet F
244 apparet] sed *add.* F
245 anima sancta … in adversis] amima sanct est sol, luna, stelle, virtutes; huius ratio quia sicud stelle latent in die, latentes in nochte, ita anima sancta vel viri sancti non exaltantur in prosperis neque depremuntur in adversis E
246 secundum] *om.* F
247 augustinum] beatum augustinum E
248 in libro de] *om.* E
249 in] de E
250 ubi dicit quod] sic ait E quod] qui F
251 tantum] tanta E
252 interesse] esse E
253 videtur] diversitas *add.* E
254 quantum] quanta E
255 corporaliter] *om.* E
256 terram] et hoc corporaliter *add.* E
257 et hoc] huiusmodi autem diversitas E

258 nam affectus iusti est] quia affectionis iustorum diversificantur E iusti est] in se F
259 celestia] versatur *add.* F
260 Philipiensium tertio] *om.* E tertio] *om.* F
261 peccatorum] peccatori F
262 peccatorum … versatur] affectus autem peccatorum est circa terrestria E
263 de quibus dicitur in Psalmo] propter quod psalmista ait E iuxta illud Psalmi F
264 de tertio patet] declaratur tercium scilicet divine inhabitationis dignitas E et patet F
265 sexagesimo sexto] vicesimo sexto B C sexto D G
266 sedes autem … sedes est] et per sapientiam est locus dei primum etiam celum in quo maxime relucet opera divina. Unde Ysaie xxvj° dicitur Celeum michi est E
267 ut dicit Bernardus] nam secundum Bernardum E
268 si] non *add.* E
269 inhabitata] inhabitat C D E inhabitet F
270 celum hoc dominus Ihesus] hoc celum dominus E
271 quod] qui S
272 quod utique] *om.* E habet utique speciali modo iustos G
273 ceteros] ceteris F
274 dixit tantum ut fieret] tantum dilexit ut fierent E dixit enim ut fierent F
275 occubit] succubuit E
276 potitus] petitus F
277 ideo … ait] et ideo Johannes post laborem foco id est igne positus ait E
278 seculum seculi] *om.* D
279 hic habitabo … eam] *om.* F etc. G
280 illa] *om.* E
281 mea] *om.* F
282 ut] sed ut E
283 anima] *om.* F
284 semper] *om.* E
285 et] ac F
286 dei] *om.* G
287 caritatem] claritatem F
288 dicente] dicento D
289 per gratiam … quinto] dilatari et extendi per virtutes quid deus pars incomprehensibilis est et ideo ad Corintheos dicitur E secundo Corinthiorum quinto] *om.* F
290 dilectione] dilatatione D F G
291 de hac … psalmo] id est dilectamini propter quod psalmista ait E
292 verbum] *om.* E
293 Bernardus] beatus Bernardus E
294 dicit] sic dicit E ubi supra dicit] supra F
295 ungitur] dirigitur S
296 dilatatur] et extenditur *add.* E
297 anima] iusti *add.* G
298 sic anima … dilatatur] *om.* C E
299 dilatatur autem] pellis inquam dilatatur E
300 non] est *add.* C

301 quo etiam modo] si eciam anima per virtutes informata E
302 sanctum in domino] domini E
303 secundo] quinto D Ephesiorum secundo] *om.* E F
304 animabus] *om.* B
305 sunt] secundum C S
306 his] hic F
307 correspondent] alia tria *add.* B G correspondentes C
308 in istis celis … in sanctis] in hiis ergo celis in quibus Christus inhabitat, deus principaliter tres operaciones operatur sicud et celum corporale; habent enim isti celi in quibus enim Christus est, in lumine claritatem, in motu regularitate, in virtute caliditatem, que tria conveniunt celo corporali et hiis tribus correspondent in sanctis E in sanctis] de sanctis F sanctis] tria que oepratur deus in eis *add.* S
309 deus] qui *add.* E enim *add.* G S
310 attendit] influit B E G
311 ad] *om.* F
312 ad profectum] affectum A C effectum D
313 ministrando vigorem] instruendo minorem E
314 psalmo] psalmista ait E
315 quoniam tu] *om.* E
316 lumen] lucernam meam E F S illuminat lumen] luminas lucernam C G
317 etc.] *om.* D E F G S
318 secundo] dicitur *add.* E *om.* C F
319 quidem] *om.* E
320 in hoc attenditur] est in eo et in eo consistit E attenditur] attendi sic F
321 diliganter] diligenter E diligatur F
322 diligenda] diligendo F sunt *add.* G
323 et] *om.* E F
324 et] etiam S
325 affectionum] affectuum S
326 et per hoc … ordinantur] *om.* E
327 de tercio psalmo] de tercio dicitur E
328 celi] tere E
329 a facie dei Israel] etc. D et Israel F a facie dei Synai, a facie dei Israel *om.* G
330 distillant] stillant D G
331 que quidem diffusio] et talis confuiso E
332 convenienter] apte S
333 distillatio] quia *add.* E
334 guttatim] tunctatim G
335 profectu] profectione F
336 quasi] *om.* S
337 enim] in D
338 perfectionis] *om.* A C D G
339 et cum] *om.* D
340 quis] qui D quidem F
341 ut] *om.* D

342 distillat] distillet C
343 distillare enim … amaritudinis] distillare est aliquid guttatim diffundere. Sic etiam anima viri sancti gradatim per virtutes diversas perficitur et non repente. Quis enim repente summus esse poterit. Cum autem aliquis habuerit omnes virtutes tunc per exercicium operationis in oportunitatem temporis distillat aliquid cuilibet virtutis; aliquando enim distillat mirram E
344 secundum illud] unde E
345 quinto] dicitur *add.* E
346 nunc] autem *add.* E
347 distillant] distillet C distillat F
348 doctrinam et contemplationem] divinam contemplationem E
349 iuxta illud] et ideo E
350 quarto] dicitur *add.* E octavo F
351 tua] etc. *add.* E labia tua] etc. G
352 et sic] sic igitur E
353 sui actus] suam B stillam add. C
354 quelibet virtus … diffundat] patet quod quelibet virtus tempore suo stillam faciet E
355 distillatio] stillatio E
356 et] a facie dei *add.* E *om.* F
357 sinai] unde nota quod synai E
358 mandatum] dei *add.* G
359 meum] *om.* E
360 significat] signat F
361 vitam] *om.* B
362 mandatorum] mandatis F
363 observationem] observatione Israel D observatione F
364 Israel quod] sed Israel E quod] quidem S quod] *om.* C F
365 interpretatur] vir *add.* E
366 videns deum] princeps cum deo videns deum et S
367 significat] signat F
368 significat … est] et significat vitam contemplativam et utraque distillacio tam vite active quam vite contemplative est a facie die Synai et a facie dei Israel E
369 qua] quo S
370 meritum] initium F
371 celis] scilicet sanctis *add.* B G
372 affectum] aspectum E
373 accedens] attendens D
374 accedens ad profectum] conservens meritum et profectum B G conferens meritum et profectum E profectum] perfectum C
375 hic] *om.* D F S modo E
376 maxime] est *add.* A
377 ergo] autem G S
378 particula] *om.* D
379 esse] est D F G
380 illud perveniendum] aliud perveniens F

381 figatur] agatur C
382 ex quorum … intentio] quorum intentio adorandum excitatur. Sic igitur in hoc exordiali proponitur quod deus est in celis ad quod perveniendum tamquam ad nostram patriam tota intentio nostra figuratur E
383 morari] *om.* A D E
384 ut dicit] unde E
385 ubi supra] *om.* F
386 autem] *om.* F
387 dicitur autem … Johannis quarto decimo] in celis deus est pluraliter per pluralitatem distinctionum bonorum operum. Et ideo Johannes quarto dicitur E quarto decimo] duodevicesimo F
388 sunt] et cetera *add.* F
389 in his celis] in hiis igitur beatitudinibus E
390 gaudium] tamquam gaudium C
391 eterne] *om.* E
392 thesaurus] tamquam thesaurus C
393 sui] sue D F
394 secundum … perficitur] et secundum hec tria anima perficitur quantum ad quamlibet sui perfectionem E
395 enim] autem E
396 precipue] *om.* E
397 perfectiones] scilicet *add.* S
398 beatorum] bonorum operum scilicet E sunt enim … beatorum] *om.* F perfectorum G
399 rationalem] rationem E
400 tentatio] secunda est tentatio S
401 fruitio] tertia est fruitio S
402 infastidibilis] stabilis F
403 tentio … concupiscentialem] secunda est sensio invisibilis que succedit spei et perficit irascibilem. Tercia est fruitio innestibilis que correspondet caritati sacians concupiscibilem E
404 primo] dicitur *add.* E
405 vicesimo tertio] trigesimo tertio S
406 det] dat F S tribuat G
407 inveniam illum] veniatur ad illum E
408 cum dicebat] *om.* E
409 Deuteronomii] Exodi G
410 ostende] domine ostende E
411 cui respondit dominus] qui respondens ait E dominus] *om.* B
412 hec] hoc F
413 est] *om.* C
414 sic] et *add.* G
415 etc.] *om.* D G in civitate dei nostri in monte sancto eius F sic vidimus etc.] etc. C
416 monte] sancto *add.* F
417 etc.] *om.* D F in monte hereditatis tue etc.] etc. G
418 quantum ad firmam et securam tentationem] *om.* B tentationem] intentionem D

419 vacabimus] vocabimus S
420 videbimus] *om.* C G
421 videbimus et amabimus] *om.* C S
422 videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus] et amabimus et laudabimus D
423 quod] *om.* F
424 fine] quod erit *add.* F
425 regnum eius] illum cui F eius] ubi *add.* G
426 hec est perfectio rationalis … nullus est finis] *om.* E
427 psalmus] dicit psalmista E psalmo G
428 hec] autem *add.* E
429 infastibilis] investibilis E ineffabilis F
430 ut dicit Augustinus] secundum Augustinum E
431 tertio] in E
432 libro] *om.* G
433 de libero] *om.* D
434 quadragesimo secundo] duodevicesimo F
435 non] nec E
436 ea] eo F
437 manere] immorari F
438 quam] quasi E nisi S
439 mora] hora E moram G
440 innumerabiles] innumerabilis F
441 circumfluentia] affluentia E influentia F
442 bonorum] *om.* E
443 contemnerentur] contempnantur E contemserunt et cetera F
444 dicamus ergo … satietatis] *om.* F

Lectio tertia

1 Posito exordio sequitur tractatus] finito exordio in quo data est nobis confidencia impetrandi, hic incipit tractatus E
2 secundum] quod sunt *add.* E
3 oratione] conclusione A G
4 partes de se patent] partes patebunt vel de se patent D et precebunt partes in processu E
5 Hic dubitari potest multipliciter] sed est notandum quod hic occurrit multiplex dubitatio E
6 primo de brevitate] prima dubitatio D
7 Primo de brevitate, quare hec oratio tam pauca verba complectatur] prima est de brevitate orationis, quare hec oratio sit ita brevis et tam brevibus verbis contexta E complectatur] complectitur F
8 quod] hoc F
9 eius] ad hoc E
10 prima] quarum prima est E
11 ut] *om.* C

12 addiscatur] adipiscatur G
13 ut] eo *add.* E
14 impetrandi] inpetitior F
15 in] *om.* F
16 esse] *om.* E
17 ostendatur] ostenditur F G
18 predicte rationes] et hec orationes breviter E
19 virtus … diversorum] *om.* C
20 doctorum] *om.* D patrum et doctorum E
21 breviter] *om.* E
22 recollecte] collecte B E
23 quedam ponentur] ponuntur F G ponentur] ponuntur D E
24 infra] *om.* D
25 quorum … operis] *om.* B operis] huius opusculi D
26 secundo dubitatur de dissensu vel diversitate Matthei et Luce] secunda dubitatio est de dissensu et diversitate Mathei et Luce in istis orationibus E
27 petitiones] orationes E
28 Lucas] vero ponit *add.* E
29 unde] unum D
30 videtur] dicitur C G
31 ille] sit *add.* C
32 quod vel iste sit superfluus, vel ille diminutus] vel quod ille sit diminutus vel primus superfluus D unde videtur … diminutus] *om.* E
33 hoc] quod E
34 dicendum] respondeo dicendo S
35 est] *om.* C
36 enim] eius *add.* B
37 tertiam enim petitionem] nam tertiam orationem E
38 fiat] *om.* C
39 quam Mattheus] *om.* F
40 exprimit] ponit explicite S
41 sub] cum E
42 duabus] premissis *add.* E
43 intelligit] comprehendit E
44 quia scilicet] quasi F scilicet] si E scilicet] *om.* G
45 tendit] intendit G
46 et] ut D
47 regnemus] tunc eius voluntas impletur *add.* E
48 libera] sed libera E
49 intelligit] includit B Lucas intelligit] a Luca intelligitur E
50 in] sub S
51 qua dicitur] que est et E
52 in temptationem] *om.* E
53 quod] quando F
54 infertur] fertur E

55 in hoc … temptationem] *om.* S
56 non] nec C E
57 iste] vel ille *add.* D est iste] ille est E ille G
58 superfluus] *om.* A
59 superfluus nec ille] *om.* D ille] iste G
60 quod] *om.* F
61 iste] ille D G
62 explicite] hoc *add.* S
63 iste dicit explicite ille intelligit implicite] Matheus exprimit explicite, Lucas implicite comprehendit E
64 scilicet] *om.* S
65 he] hec D
66 sub] *om.* B
67 septenario numero] septenarius B numero] *om.* D F
68 Tertio … comprehendantur] Tertio dubitatur quare omnes petitiones numero septenario compleantur, ita quod non plures nec pauciores E comprehendantur] comprehenduntur S
69 numerus] *om.* C
70 universitatis] universalitatis E
71 quoniam] quia C
72 et quoniam universitas] *om.* E
73 desiderabilium] desiderandum E
74 comprehenduntur] comprehenditur C comprehendatur E
75 secundum Augustinum Ad Probam et ponitur] quod patet per beatum Augustinum per probationes que ponuntur E
76 infra] *om.* B D E
77 ex] in S
78 patebit ex petitione sequenti] *om.* E
79 sub] *om.* B
80 numero] *om.* C
81 est] sunt E S
82 complexus] complexe E
83 et propterea] alia est ideo E
84 has] septem *add.* E F
85 excluduntur] excludentur C concluduntur G
86 introducuntur] introducantur E
87 principales] scilicet *add.* E G
88 dona] scilicet *add.* B
89 et] *om.* F
90 septem] *om.* E
91 prosequendo] in fine istius orationis *add.* E
92 conveniens ergo fuit] ergo fuit iustum E
93 septenario] numero *add.* S
94 quarto debitatur] quarta est dubitatio E
95 quare] ille petitiones *add.* E

96 ordinentur] ordinetur B
97 sit] est B
98 et] *om.* G
99 et] *om.* E
100 confirmari] confirmat F
101 videtur] hic autem videtur E
102 quod servat] quod dominus noster observat E
103 enim] *om.* A G
104 petitur] ponitur F
105 est] *om.* E
106 simpliciter] sequitur E
107 est bonum simpliciter quod] bona simplicia que F
108 immediate] *om.* B
109 est] *om.* B D
110 amotio] remotiones E
111 quod] quam S
112 tres] *om.* D
113 et quoniam ut] sed est notandum quod E
114 est] *om.* A D S
115 supra] *om.* E
116 prologo] quod *add.* E
117 preclara] et sanctissima *add.* E *om.* F
118 quantum] *om.* F
119 petenda] petitiones rerum E
120 sed] *om.* E
121 etiam] *om.* G
122 quantum] *om.* B
123 desiderandorum] considerandorum C
124 petitiones sunt posite] ponitur E
125 petuntur] petimus C
126 petitiones sunt posite … ordine] *om.* A D
127 que] quo C G S
128 omnia enim … ponitur] *om.* E ponitur] ponuntur C D F G S
129 autem] enim F ergo S
130 in] ibi A D
131 desiderio] desideris B
132 primo … finis] primo enim datur nobis finis desiderii E
133 ea] *om.* B D G
134 sunt] ordinata *add.* E
135 finis] ducentium *add.* F
136 autem noster] *om.* F
137 est] *om.* E
138 affectus] effectus D E
139 dupliciter] et hoc dupliciter E
140 uno quidem modo] quidem unomodo D uno modo C G

141 prout] ut E
142 volumus] volimus D
143 deo] dei B F
144 modo] *om.* D
145 prout] ut E
146 volumus] volimus D voluimus E
147 quorum] *om.* F
148 ad dilectionem qua] ad dilectionem dei quo F
149 secundum] secundo B C
150 deum in seipso … qua] *om.* E
151 deo] deum G
152 prima petitio] primo F
153 per quam] *om.* G
154 per quod petimus gloriam deo] *om.* F deo] dei B G
155 secunda] secundo F
156 per] secundum F
157 nos] *om.* B G
158 gloriam regni] regnum F
159 eius] dei E
160 pervenire] venire S
161 ad finem autem predictum] ad hunc autem finem E
162 aliquid] aliud C deus F
163 uno modo] vel E
164 alio modo] vel E
165 per se quidem] si per se sic est E
166 bonum] est *add.* G
167 utile in finem] ad utilem finem F finem] beatitudinis *add.* E
168 aliquid] aliud C *om.* F
169 beatitudinis] *om.* B
170 beatitudinis … modo] *om.* F
171 modo] ordinatur ad finem *add.* E
172 et] *om.* D E
173 et quasi] *om.* F
174 nos] *om.* C
175 merendum] beatitudinem E meritum F
176 quod dicitur] *om.* D et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur] ad quem obicitur E
177 cottidianum] et cetera F
178 ordinamur] ordinatur B
179 in beatitudinem] ad finem beatitudinis E
180 tria] sed tria E
181 autem] *om.* E
182 quidem] quodlibet B
183 quod directe nos prohibet] quod nos prohibet directe ab ipsa beatitudine E
184 et] quantum *add.* E
185 pertinet quod] *om.* C

186 secundo] secunda quedam D est *add.* E
187 ab observantia] ad observantiam F G
188 divine] *om.* E
189 voluntatis] bonitatis G
190 et] quantum *add.* E
191 in temptationem] et cetera F
192 tertio] est *add.* E
193 vite] nostram E
194 dicitur] dicit C sed *add.* D F S
195 patet] ordo *add.* C
196 sic] solutio C
197 ad obiectum] quid est dicendum ad obiectum quarte dubitationis E
198 sanctificetur nomen tuum] *om.* D
199 circa quam] ad quam E
200 prima facie] *om.* E
201 quia] quod E in *add.* F S
202 semper] sanctum *add.* F
203 sed] cum *add.* E
204 sanctum] sanctificatum ergo eius sanctificatio frustra petitur, quod nomen dei semper sit sanctum E
205 iuxta illud] patet E
206 primo] tertio B
207 et] *om.* E
208 sanctum] est *add.* E
209 eius] *om.* D
210 quare] *om.* E
211 quare etc. *om.* G
212 responsio] dicendum E
213 sic] sicut B E G S
214 libro] *om.* B C E in libro] *om.* F
215 de] *om.* E
216 domini] *om.* D
217 non] *om.* C
218 hoc] hic D
219 dei] domini F
220 habetur] habeatur C
221 illo] illi C D E F G
222 in psalmo] psalmiste E
223 in] etiam A *om.* B et in D
224 non] enim *add.* E
225 non ideo … magnum] *om.* C magnum] *om.* D
226 non ideo … Israel] *om.* F
227 quasi intelligatur] *om.* E
228 quod] *om.* S
229 deus] *om.* B

230 sit] esse et S et *add.* D E F
231 alibi] esse *add.* S
232 ubi] ut E
233 similiter] sicut F
234 dei] *om.* F
235 dicitur] esse *add.* S
236 similiter … agnoscitur] *om.* B D similiter sanctum dei nascitur ut magnum agnoscatur sive sanctum E
237 dices] diceres D E S
238 ergo] tamen ergo E *om.* S
239 hec] *om.* E
240 prima] *om.* F
241 respicit] recipit B
242 gloriam] *om.* E
243 contradicta] contra prius dictum insufficientia E contra predicta S
244 hec] hoc C D E F G
245 idem] *om.* E
246 dei] *om.* D
247 sanctum] *om.* E
248 propagandam] propagandum F
249 peterimus] petimus B D E
250 sed] *om.* B C D F S
251 propter nostram utilitatem] *om.* D
252 attendimus] intendimus D E
253 Chrysostomus] *om.* C
254 in] una *add.* S
255 nomen tuum] *om.* B C E G S
256 hoc] hic C
257 ac si] quasi F
258 pure] *om.* D E F G S
259 pure vivere] unde B
260 per nos] *om.* E
261 est autem] *om.* F
262 dei] dicitur *add.* E
263 accipitur] accipi E
264 ad presens] *om.* G
265 modo] D
266 nono] quartodecimo F primo ubi dicitur E
267 vocabitur] et vocabitur E vocabis F
268 consiliarius … pacis] et cetera F
269 admirabilis] mirabilis S
270 inquam] in *add.* D F
271 incarnatione] in creatione C
272 que … mirabilissimum] *om.* F mirabilissimum] mirabilissima quia natus de virgine virginitate permanente E

273 deus] fortis *add.* E
274 operatione] pro actione F
275 fortis in passione] *om.* E
276 ascensione] redemptione E
277 ista] ita F
278 complexio] completio F confessio sive complexio G
279 redemptionis] petitionis D iugiter *add.* F
280 nobis] manere *add.* F in nobis] *om.* E
281 sic] *om.* C
282 vere] *om.* F
283 quasi] ut C
284 quales] sicut E
285 sunt] *om.* D
286 et laverunt … agni] *om.* F G
287 nos] nobis C
288 et] ut D
289 sensus] quod F
290 id est] *om.* B D
291 modo] *om.* D E
292 filialis] filiationis F
293 adoptionis] iuxta illud Iohannis primo: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius *add.* S iuxta illud Iohannis primo: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri *add.* F
294 accipitur] sumitur F
295 hic] *om.* B
296 sanctificatur] significatur C D sanctificetur E
297 quoniam] quando C E F G
298 dei] *om.* A D filii dei] *om.* E
299 sumus] *om.* B
300 et re] in re filii dei E
301 sancti] *om.* G
302 exuti] extenti F
303 enim] nam S
304 geos] quod est *add.* C F G
305 est] *om.* A
306 proprium] proprie C
307 ut qui] quod cum E
308 patrem habent] patre habent partem E
309 affectu] per affectum F
310 ambulent] ambulant E
311 per] *om.* G
312 quoniam] quia F
313 ego] *om.* D
314 sum] Lev. sexto decimo *add.* S
315 est sensus] sensus est ille E
316 conservetur] servetur D construetur E

317 in nobis] *om.* C
318 tui] dei F
319 tu] *om.* E
320 dignaris] digneris E F
321 divini] divine D
322 et] *om.* B C
323 psalmo] cum dicitur *add.* E
324 ita] sit C D
325 in fines terre] et cetera S *om.* F G
326 sanctificatur] sanctificetur F
327 quoniam] quando D F
328 quoniam … in nobis] *om.* C E
329 a] in B C
330 hoc nomen … glorificatur] *om.* G
331 sanxiti] sanciti B S sanxati D
332 firmati] firmetur C
333 firmati … cessemus] a laude dei et eius sanctitate confirmati nunquam cessando E
334 tunc] sic E
335 erit] est S
336 ita] *om.* B
337 gloria] tua *add.* F
338 gloria et honor tuus] honor et gloria tua G
339 ut] et C
340 te] *om.* B
341 sanctificationis] *om.* F
342 posset] potest G
343 primas] personas B
344 acceptiones] acceptionis B F expositiones E
345 ut] sic *add.* G
346 modum] nomen G
347 sic] *om.* E
348 id est firmetur] informetur E
349 amittamus] sed *add.* F sed secundum *add.* S
350 secundum] alium *add.* D
351 sic] *om.* E
352 nunquam] desinamus vel *add.* D *om.* F
353 tuum] *om.* E
354 quod est] *om.* S
355 sanctissimum] sanctum S
356 matthei] unde matthei E
357 secundo] *om.* F primo S
358 vocabis] et vocabis E
359 populum suum a peccatis eorum] etc. G
360 hic] in presenti oratione *add.* E
361 hic et] habetur F

362 vicesimo tertio] vicesimo duo ubi dicitur E
363 est] enim *add.* F
364 qui etc] *om.* F G etc] *om.* C qui in celis est E S
365 quia rex] *om.* S
366 Matthei] unde matthei E
367 inquam] *om.* B
368 sanctificetur] sanctificatur F
369 nobis] scilicet *add.* S
370 per] *om.* D
371 ore] honore E
372 per] *om.* D
373 nobis] *om.* D in nobis G
374 exemplar] exemplum G
375 secundum Bernardum] *om.* B D F sed secundum Bernardum E
376 autem] *om.* F S
377 superbia] superbus F
378 superbia enim tria mala] *om.* B
379 facit sanctificationi trinitatis] facit quibus sanctificatio triplicis F S trinitatis] triplici D triplicis C G
380 enim tria … contraria] autem sanctificationi tria infert mala trinitatis nominis predicti contraria E contraria] est *add.* F
381 nam] *om.* S
382 evacuat] quod est *add.* E
383 contra primum] *om.* B C et *add.* E
384 diaboli] dei autem B diabolo F
385 generat] degenerat B
386 contra secundum] *om.* B C
387 blasphemat] blasphema E
388 contra tertium] *om.* B C
389 tertio decimo] vicesimo tertio F capitulo dicitur *add.* E
390 superbiam] *om.* F
391 multam] *om.* E multum F
392 sicut videlicet lumbare vide visionem] sicut lumbare quod absconditum est F
393 vide visionem moraliter lumbare] *om.* E
394 illud] *om.* C
395 erat] fuerat B C S fuit F
396 signat] lumbare significat E
397 hominem] *om.* C
398 qui] quia E F
399 lumbare] adheret *add.* E
400 christo] christus E
401 est] nobis *add.* F
402 ibidem] *om.* B
403 adheret] subditur D
404 ad] *om.* F

405 adglutinavi] glutinavi B glutinum E agluntinam F
406 michi] in F
407 domum] terram D
408 israel] Ierusalem F
409 et Iuda] et omnem domum Iuda S
410 lumbare] *om.* G
411 avertitur] absciditur E
412 ab] *om.* B
413 Eufrates] Eufraten F G
414 vero] enim C F G autem S
415 interpretatur pulverulentus] pulverelentus id est plenus pulvere interpretatur E pulverulentus] pulverus F
416 signat] significat D
417 pulveris] pulvis F
418 elationis] et F
419 et agitur] *om.* E
420 foramine] foramen C D E F G
421 mundanum] humanum F humanum mundanum G
422 istud] illud D E
423 igitur] enim E S
424 tunc] *om.* A F istum igitur lumbare *om.* F
425 dominus] deus C
426 computrescere] putrescere E
427 quoniam] quando C D E F G dominus *add.* E
428 expertem] *om.* F
429 secundo] dicitur *add.* E
430 quadragesimo primo] quarto decimo F
431 est] *om.* G
432 unde] Johannis dicitur *add.* E de *add.* F
433 dicitur] *om.* E
434 tercio decimo] tercio D octavo G
435 vestro] *om.* B C D F G
436 Sophonie secundo] *om.* E secundo] quinto D primo F
437 de] *om.* E
438 de quibusdam] *om.* G
439 sua] *om.* E
440 blasphemaverunt] blasphemaverant D
441 deum] eos E
442 et] *om.* E
443 tertio] secundo F
444 superbis] superbie B C D G
445 blasphemasti] blasphemastis eum F
446 hec tria mala] his tribus malis F S
447 contrariantur sanctificationi] contrariatur sanctificatio F S sanctificationi] sanctificationis C D

448 ut de se patet] *om.* E
449 bene] *om.* E
450 dicitur] dicit F
451 per] quod E
452 excludi] quod est superbia excluditur E excluditur F
453 de virtutibus] *om.* E F
454 theologica] catholica S
455 habet enim fides] hec enim fides habet E
456 sanctificationi] sanctificatione F
457 triplicis] triplici D
458 dei] divini A C D E F
459 abluimur] abluitur E
460 quantum] quo E
461 quantum ad primum] *om.* B D quantum] contra F
462 quantum] quo E
463 quantum ad secundum] *om.* B quantum] contra F
464 prosequimur] consequimur F
465 quantum] quo E
466 quantum ad tertium] *om.* B D quantum] contra F
467 Romanorum] ad Romanos D
468 romanorum tertio] ad Romanos primo dicitur E
469 per] et E
470 proposuit] posuit E
471 propitiationem] ad propitiationem C propitiatorem E
472 eius] ipsius A C D filios dei … eius] et cetera F
473 undecimo] tertio decimo E secundo F
474 per totum verbi] *om.* E ubi per totum ubi F verbi] ubi D G
475 apostolus] apostolos E
476 magnifica gesta antiquorum] magnificati gestati quorum E
477 commemorat] commendat F
478 quia] ut *add.* F
479 dicendo] *om.* G
480 quia dicit … sapientie] *om.* B
481 a] in D F
482 nominis] tui *add.* S
483 in aliquo] *om.* E
484 discrepemus] discrepamus F
485 sed] quod F
486 ostendamus] emendamus D
487 proprie] *om.* E
488 dono] bono D
489 sumitur] accipitur B E S
490 suavitatis] veritatis E
491 divine] dei nomine C
492 experientiam] experigentiam F

493 per experientiam habita] habita experientia E
494 dicta] dictum F
495 dicta est] *om.* D
496 experientia] experigentia F
497 triplicis] trinitatis A E triplici D
498 surgit] surgat F
499 tribus] scilicet E videlicet *add.* F
500 passionis] passione F
501 meditatione] meditationis E
502 ex] *om.* E
503 erga] ergo E
504 memoratione] memorare debemus
505 ex] *om.* E
506 iugi] iugiter S
507 vicesimo quarto] vicesimo D duodesexagesimo F
508 dicit] dicitur de E
509 mortis] *om.* F
510 penarum] pene F
511 passio] *om.* D
512 pro quanto] et quantum E
513 que] cum E
514 devote] de nocte E
515 dicit] *om.* F
516 hugo] in *add.* C F S
517 pro omnibus] *om.* G
518 est] des E
519 dulce] dilecte E
520 et amem] etc. E
521 quoddammodo] quod E *om.* F
522 aliud] *om.* E S
523 agat] agit E
524 deus] *om.* D
525 saluti] salute F
526 provideat] deus *add.* E
527 etsi] et B
528 memoria] memoriam F
529 quorumlibet] est *add.* B
530 homini] dei E huiusmodi F
531 filiationis] reconciliationis E
532 ipse ist pie nos] *om.* B
533 nos] *om.* F
534 atque fovet] et pertractat B
535 scribitur] dicitur F
536 decimo sexto] quarto E duodevicesimo F
537 in] *om.* G

538 dulcedinem tuam … ostendisti] dulcedine tua quam in filios habeo E ostendisti] demonstrati seu ostendisti F
539 sponsus] sponsa B sponsi F scilicet *add.* E
540 sonet] sonat D enim *add.* F
541 dulcis] est *add.* E F
542 anime] *om.* G
543 anime] prompte *add.* D
544 invitat] invitatur C nos *add.* E
545 fili] mi *add.* F S
546 et] *om.* A D G sic et] sit E
547 nichilominus] hic *add.* S
548 qua] quo E
549 quinto] quinto decimo F
550 pacifici] quoniam filii dei vocabuntur *add.* F de qua … pacifici] *om.* D
551 que] qui E *om.* F
552 adaptatur] adaptantur E
553 quo] qua D
554 est] *om.* E
555 delectatio] dilectio B
556 sine] *om.* F
557 vel] et D
558 est] *om.* G
559 est] et *add.* B C G et F inefficax est] non est efficax E
560 quiete] quieto E
561 repugnantia] contradictione seu repugnantia S
562 sanctificatur] sanctificetur C
563 significationem] sanctificationem C F S
564 triplicis] *om.* B
565 dei] *om.* G
566 enim] etenim E
567 primo] prima A
568 inquam] enim F
569 redimit] redimitur F
570 unde Psalmus] unde in Psalmo D unde psalmista E
571 et sic] nec D
572 pax] *om.* C
573 per] pacem et *add.* E
574 esse] *om.* G
575 in quantum … redemptionis] *om.* B
576 quadragesimo septimo] quadragesimo quarto C quarto decimo F
577 secundo] secunda A
578 etiam] *om.* F
579 efficit] facit B C E F G
580 Matthei] unde Matthei E
581 quoniam filii dei vocabuntur] *om.* F

582 et] hoc *add.* S
583 officium] effectum S
584 qui] quia E
585 gerunt] gerant D
586 et] in *add.* E
587 tertio] tertia A de tertio E
588 gloriam] honorem F
589 deo] *om.* F
590 dicit] *om.* F S
591 tertio] secundo G
592 et] *om.* E
593 vestris] nostris F
594 nosmetipsos] deo *add.* B vosmetipsos D S nos ipsos G
595 et] *om.* E
596 et canticis] *om.* F
597 cantantes] *om.* F
598 spiritualibus … deo] etiam gratias cantantes deo in cordibus vestris deo E
599 propterea] etiam E
600 fides] finis E
601 quorum] cuius B
602 differenter] patet quia *add.* E
603 fides] finis E prout *add.* F
604 et] similiter *add.* E
605 et similiter] *om.* F similiter] *om.* E
606 est virtus … similiter pax] *om.* B
607 est] *om.* E
608 beatitudo] beatitudinis E
609 et similiter … et fructus] *om.* S
610 habentur] sequuntur E
611 infra] *om.* B
612 hic] hec C G
613 infra … ad presens] de quibus nichil ad presens E sed hic supponatur ad presens] *om.* D

Lectio quarta

1 que] *om.* F
2 que convenienter sequitur primam ut] qua E
3 petamus] petimus E
4 filiis] filius F
5 sed] sic C
6 sed hic incidit] sed est notandum quod hic occurrrit E incidit] incipit C
7 prima] primum E
8 quia] quando F
9 videtur] est S

10 eius] ei D E F G S
11 quare etc.] *om.* D ergo videtur frustra petere regnum dei advenire E ergo G
12 dicendum] ad istam dubitationem E est add. S
13 hic] hoc F
14 ut] quod B C G S *om.* E
15 deo] dei E F
16 adveniat] advenire E
17 sed] petimus *add.* E
18 quasi ipse … adveniat] *om.* B nobis adveniat] regnum dei adveniat nobis E
19 unde] dicit *add.* C D beatus *add.* E
20 ad Probam] approbat E
21 adveniat] veniet C
22 nolimus] nolumus F
23 veniat] adveniat C S
24 eo] ipso S
25 est] et F
26 sensus] ille *add.* E est *add.* F
27 atque in eo … adveniat] *om.* C adveniat] regnum tuum *add.* E
28 veniat] venit G
29 secunda dubitatio … regnum tuum] *om.* D
30 tamen videretur] non videtur F
31 quod tamen videretur convenientius] quod deo tamen videtur inconveniens E
32 potius] petimus F
33 venimus] veniamus E
34 ad regnum] *om.* D
35 quam] eius *add.* E
36 regnum] veniat *add.* E
37 dicendum] est *add.* S
38 ad deum] *om.* G
39 ad hoc dicendum … possumus] ad hoc est dicendum fquod convenientius dicitur adveniat quia ad deum nos venire non possumus E possumus] possimus F
40 illud] verbum *add.* E
41 ad me] *om.* D
42 illum] eum B F G S *om.* D
43 ideo] *om.* D
44 quia] *om.* F
45 regnum] dei *add.* E
46 voluntate] eius *add.* E
47 potius] convenientius E *om.* F
48 petimus] *om.* C
49 venire] advenire E
50 ad nos] *om.* C nobis D E
51 nos] *om.* A
52 regnum] dei *add.* S
53 notandum autem] sed est notandum E autem] *om.* D

54 regnum] dei *add.* B C E
55 regnum dicitur] *om.* F
56 esse] est F *om.* D S
57 quo] qua F regno *add.* S
58 tertio decimo] tertio F dicitur *add.* E
59 et] ut E
60 colligent] colliget S
61 verbo] beatus *add.* E dicit *add.* F G
62 dicitur] *om.* C S *add.*: Et Augustinus primo de trinitate capitulo decimo dicit: Fideles Christi quos redemit sanguine quo, dicti sunt regnum, quod regnum Christus tunc tradet patri quoniam perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est finis et requies sempiterna
63 in] *om.* F
64 quod] que F
65 quo] regno dicitur *add.* E
66 dei] *om.* B F
67 vos] nos F
68 divine gubernationi] divina gubernatione F
69 obediunt] sunt obedientes E
70 secus … rebellio] ita quod nulla est ibi rebellio E *om.* F
71 dei] *om.* C dicitur E
72 est] esse E
73 in] *om.* E F
74 est] dicitur E
75 patris mei] *om.* E
76 percipite] possidete S
77 percipite regnum] *om.* F G
78 etc.] *om.* B C D G patris mei E paratum vobis S
79 autem] *om.* F
80 dei] *om.* C D
81 est] *om.* E
82 satane] diaboli sive satane F
83 hoc regno] quo E
84 quod] qui F S
85 enim] in B
86 christifidelium] fidelium C F
87 sunt synagoga … in bono] *om.* D
88 sic] sicut D
89 est] enim *add.* D
90 malo] malorum S
91 et suorum] *om.* G
92 quo] dicitur *add.* E
93 Romanorum] ad Romanos E F
94 vestro] *om.* E
95 istud] illud C D E G

96 sic] regnat *add.* F
97 Romanorum] ad Romanos E F
98 peccatum in] ad G
99 regnet] regnat E F
100 iustitiam] in vitam eternam *add.* S
101 de] et de E
102 hoc] *om.* D
103 regno] *om.* F
104 sexto decimo] octavo decimo F
105 bestia] vero *add.* E
106 bestia et eius sedem] sedem bestie S
107 sententia] sententie E
108 puta] tota E
109 extreme] eterne F G
110 Phiala enim … largum] Viola enim est vas vitreum habens orificium artus et longen sed ventrem latum E
111 propter quod] *om.* F
112 sed] et E
113 tollerat et] *om.* E
114 iram suam … plene effundit] iram suam sed sententia extrema finaliter eam plene effundit E effundit] effundat F
115 hac] enim *add.* C ea E qua S
116 dicit] *om.* S
117 psalmus] psalmista E
118 domine] *om.* F
119 congregat] colligit F
120 deinde] demum B E F G S
121 cum] tunc D
122 cum impetu] quasi in toto E
123 dimittit] dimittitur D
124 ergo] igitur E
125 triplex] *om.* F
126 dei] *om.* D
127 et] quod *add.* E ac S
128 dicit] beatus *add.* E *om.* F
129 regno] regnum G
130 vel ut] unde F ut] *om.* D G vel *om.* E
131 unoquoque] uno quolibet E homine *add.* S
132 scilicet] *om.* F S
133 hominum] hominis S
134 mortali hominum corpore] corpore mortalis hominis E corpore] quantum ad secundum *add.* S
135 nostrum] dei enim F
136 repromissum] promissum E
137 et] in *add.* F

138 quoniam] quondam B ut cui E
139 in] hoc add. F
140 ante servivimus] sumus F
141 ergo] sic *add.* D
142 gratie] videlicet et *add.* F et *add.* S
143 ut] *om.* C
144 destruatur] vincamus E
145 et] *om.* F est etiam G
146 ita destrui] ita ut destruatur E
147 id est] et F
148 ipse enim regnat] ubi ipse habet regnare E regnat] *om.* D
149 illud] dictum *add.* E
150 quadragesimo primo] vicesimo quarto F
151 ipse] spiritus D
152 petitionem] etiam orationem E
153 avaritia] avaros F
154 avari enim] avaritia enim avari E
155 celi] dei F
156 terre] terrenum F
157 querunt] querit E
158 enim] autem S
159 quod enim … diaboli] *om.* F
160 Ephesiorum] ad Ephesios E S
161 quinto] primo F
162 ubi dicit] *om.* F
163 sed constat … idolorum servitus] *om.* D
164 ergo etc.] *om.* E
165 contrarietur] contrariatur E F
166 secundo] regno *add.* F
167 decimo] ubi dicitur *add.* E
168 avaro] avaritia E
169 scelestius] celestius D F
170 et] id est F
171 repugnant] repugnat F
172 quia] quare C D E F G
173 contrarietur] contrariatur F
174 conformatur] conformetur D E S
175 est] *om.* D
176 secundi] *om.* F
177 secundi Petri secundo ubi loquens] quia dicitur E loquens] legitur F
178 excecatum] exsiccatum E
179 avaritia] avaritie D
180 dicit] *om.* E
181 sint] sicut B D sine F *om.* G
182 maledictionis] maledictione F

183 avaritia] avaritie D avari F
184 et] *om.* B F etiam E
185 ac] et E
186 et similiter … voluntati dei] *om.* F
187 licet] est *add.* F
188 quamlibet] et *add.* D
189 quamlibet istarum] quemlibet istorum F
190 excludantur] excluduntur E F
191 alicui] uni E
192 et] sic *add.* E
193 inclusione] inductione E conclusione F introductione S de inclusione] declusione C
194 et] *om.* F S
195 et] *om.* E
196 de virtutibus] scilicet *add.* E *om.* F
197 enim] autem F
198 sententiarum] in sententiis S
199 distinctione vicesimo sexto] sic *add.* E *om.* F
200 ponitur] ponuntur D F
201 nam] per hoc *add.* E
202 firmitate] puritate E
203 consistit] et firmitate *add.* E
204 certitudini fidei] certitudinem F
205 innititur] innuitur F
206 Romanorum] ut patet ad Romanos E
207 vero[autem D
208 ex] *om.* F
209 etc.] *om.* D F S
210 et patet] *om.* E G
211 regno] dei scilicet *add.* E regnum F
212 ut] utilis F
213 talis] est F
214 sit certa … exspectatio] *om.* G
215 ex] *om.* F
216 opus] petendum E
217 est] *om.* C habemus D
218 vero] deo F
219 quod] *om.* E
220 introducitur] introducuntur F
221 introducitur spes] *om.* E spes] etc. *add.* G
222 etiam] et F
223 spiritus] virtus *add.* F
224 petitur] spiritus G
225 quo] quod F
226 ut] et C
227 hoc] per hoc B

228 nobis] que nos *add.* E que *add.* F
229 promoventia] promovent E promoventur F
230 nos] *om.* E
231 dei] videlicet *add.* G
232 credendum] dicendum E
233 illustrat] instruit E illustreat G
234 sane intelligendum] recte credendum. Illuminat ad sane intelligendum regnum ecclesie E
235 advenit] adveniat G
236 regnum] tuum *add.* S
237 recte … ecclesie] *om.* E
238 intelligendo] intelligendum E
239 advenit] adveniat E G
240 regnum] tuum scilicet *add.* E tuum *add.* S
241 sed] *om.* G
242 intendendo] intendendum E
243 advenit] adveniat E
244 regnum] tuum *add.* S
245 De quo psalmi] de quo psalmista ait E psalmi] psalmus C *om.* D in Psalmo G
246 hac] *om.* E
247 qua gradieris] *om.* G gradieris] etc. *add.* D
248 enim] *om.* E F
249 non est nisi quedam via] non est in quadam via E via] vis F
250 regnum] scilicet *add.* S
251 glorie] tale C celorum F
252 deus] *om.* F
253 dicit] dicitur D
254 in via] *om.* B C G et cetera E S via] hac *add.* F
255 quinto decimo] duodecimo F
256 ubi Christus] *om.* F
257 increpans] increpat E
258 discipulos] suos *add.* B F S
259 dicit] ait E
260 est] *om.* C S
261 est sciendum] intelligendum E
262 salubres significationes] sunt salubris significationis F significationes] sanctificationes D
263 dominus] deus C
264 ergo] igitur E
265 dixerat] dicebat S
266 in] per E
267 et vos] *om.* G
268 et ad litteram] ad intellectum E
269 adhuc] *om.* F
270 erant] fuerunt D

271 illustrati] gratia vel *add.* E
272 est] et D
273 aut] *om.* E F
274 aut] et E
275 dicta] dicte G
276 aut manifeste dicta obscure] *om.* F obscure] obscuritate D
277 velit] vult E
278 dicens] cum dicebat C cum dicit E cum *add.* G
279 psalmo] psalmus C *om.* E
280 tuum] et *add.* C
281 doce me etc.] *om.* E G etc.] *om.* C iustificationes tuas S
282 psalmi] psalmus C D G psalmista ait E in psalmo S
283 intellectibus] in intellectibus E G in intellectum F
284 deduxit] deducet E deduxisti F
285 illustrat] illuminat B
286 sed] si D
287 depurat affectum] deputat effectum E
288 in quodam sermone de timore] in quodam sermone domini de monte E *om.* F timore] dei *add.* S
289 sextus] secundum F
290 falsitate] superfluitate E
291 vanitatis] voluptatis G
292 mundantur] mundentur atque purgentur F
293 ut] et G
294 ut pura intentio dirigatur in deum] ut peccata intentioi dirigatur in deum E
295 et differt istud domum] et nota quod illud donum intellectus differt E
296 circa] contra C
297 autem] *om.* F
298 moventur] movetur C S movemur D E
299 he] *om.* E
300 sunt] res *add.* E
301 ideo dicitur] non E
302 pluraliter] probabiliter G
303 intellectibus quod] dicebatur in intellectibus mannum suarum etc. sed E
304 nusquam] numquam F
305 in] sacra *add.* S
306 quia etiam] et quia E
307 iuvamentum] munimentum F
308 in finem cognitum et intentum] et intentum nostrum et congitionem ad finem E
309 manui] manu F
310 dicitur] dicebatur E
311 intellectibus] in intellectibus E G
312 deduxit eos] *om.* F eos] illos E
313 beatitudinibus] autem *add.* B C F G S
314 hanc] istam S

315 nam munditia cordis] que D S
316 de beatitudinibus … consequitur] sed est notandum de beatitudinibus quod per hanc petitionem introducitur mundicia cordis, omnia mundicia cordis sequitur E consequitur] sequitur F
317 secundum] beatum *add.* S
318 et Glossam] *om.* E
319 et] ut S
320 et Glossam et patet ex dictis] *om.* F
321 cordis] *om.* D E G
322 pupille] pupilli F
323 ad] ut F
324 quinto] sexto E tertio F
325 proponuntur] ponuntur F
326 et] *om.* F
327 est] supra *add.* E
328 ecclesie] *om.* A
329 affectionibus] effectibus E
330 regnum] donum A C
331 et] est A B C D F G
332 quoniam] quidem D quia E
333 munditia] que *add.* D
334 imperfecte] imperfecta D
335 in] *om.* F
336 etiam] *om.* F
337 quod] *om.* F
338 respondet] quod A correspondet E F
339 quod] quidem *add.* B
340 ad ea] adeo G
341 visio] *om.* D
342 munditiam] cordis *add.* E
343 coexigit] exigit F
344 hic] hec F
345 de fructibus etiam introducuntur hic duo] sed est notandum de fructibus quod per hanc petitionem hec duo introducuntur E
346 scilicet] videlicet G
347 quia] *om.* C
348 magnitudine] magnitudini E
349 etiam] est F
350 quia] quoniam G
351 differtur] et *add.* E
352 opus] fructus E
353 longanimitate] ex longanimitate E
354 qua] quia E F
355 delectata] dilata E
356 enim] autem C

357 certitudinem] certitudine E F
358 consequente] et cetera add. F

Lectio quinta

1 et in terra] *om.* G
2 hec] est *add.* E
3 quia secundum] quod dicit *add.* E *om.* F
4 in homelia] *om.* C F
5 regnum tuum] *om.* G
6 celum] celos S
7 rationabiliter sequitur secundum] que consequitur rationabiliter secundum E
8 terra] *om.* G
9 fieri] super B F G quomodo E
10 celum] super celum veniatur E
11 quod] *om.* D
12 tua] etc. *add.* E
13 est] *om.* C et est F
14 etiam] enim E
15 ut] *om.* B F
16 conformemus] et *add.* E conformemur F
17 ideo] et ideo C E
18 rationabiliter hec petitio sequitur premissam] hec petitio sequitur et rationabiliter E
19 viribus] meritis E
20 Romanorum] ad Romanos E G
21 septimo] sexto G
22 quidem] que F
23 non] *om.* E
24 invenio bonum] valeo F bonum] unum D
25 hoc] hic D E F
26 quatius] quantus B G S quatenus C E quatinus D
27 ut] et C
28 fit] sit E
29 qui] quod D quis E
30 sumus] *om.* E
31 putet aliquis] alia F
32 nos] *om.* E
33 petere] congruit nisi *add.* F
34 faciet] faciat B E F G
35 hoc] eam E
36 facit] tamen *add.* F
37 et] et etiam a nobis E
38 unde] ut E
39 non] nos *add.* C nec G

40 petimus] possimus C
41 ut] quod E F
42 faciet] faciat B E S
43 ut deus faciet quod vult] facere quod deus vult C
44 deus] *om.* E
45 ut nos … quod] *om.* C quod] quid G
46 quod ut] et quod E
47 est] ex E
48 opera] operatio D
49 opera eius] ex eius operatione E
50 protectione] protectio D
51 quia nemo suis viribus fortis est, sed dei misericordia tutus] quia voluntas suis viribus fortis est sed dei misericordia est tutior E
52 notandum] ubi notandum E
53 autem] *om.* E
54 a] in E
55 opus est dei voluntate … a nobis] *om.* F
56 suorum] *om.* D
57 dicit] dicitur S
58 propheta] *om.* F
59 Michee] Mathei D
60 sexto] *om.* E
61 tibi] *om.* D
62 dominus] deus F
63 te] utique *add.* F
64 et sollicitum] sollicite E F sollicitum] sollacitum C
65 ubi] unde propheta dicit E
66 dicit] *om.* E
67 dei] *om.* B
68 tamen dei … a nobis] *om.* F
69 circa nos est triplex … vult tria] notandum quod quod circa nos est voluntas dei triplex secundum ipse specialiter vult a nobis tria E
70 deus] dominus D
71 conversorum] *om.* C
72 primo] patet *add.* E
73 duodevicesimo] ubi dicit *add.* E quinto F sexto decimo S
74 sed ut magis convertatur et vivat] *om.* F convertatur et vivat] etc. C
75 secundo] et tertio D
76 prime] *om.* D secunde F G
77 quarto] decimo D prime Thessalonicensium quarto] *om.* E
78 sexto] octavo G
79 dei sanctificatio vestra … est voluntas] *om.* D
80 me] *om.* E qui misit me] *om.* F
81 ut omnis] *om.* C G
82 etc. usque] qui videt filium et credit in eum B F S qui vivit et credit in me E ut G

83 habeat] habeant G
84 hanc] ergo *add.* S
85 dei] *om.* S
86 dicimus] dicitur E
87 tua] sicut in celo et in terra *add.* F
88 respondeat] correspondeat E
89 isti] *om.* E
90 uno] primo E
91 intelligantur] intelligamus E intelliguntur F
92 iusti] iustos E
93 vero] *om.* D E S
94 respondet] correspondet F
95 ut] et E
96 sensus] ille *add.* E
97 fiat] *om.* S
98 alio] secundo E S
99 modo] exponitur *add.* E
100 per] *om.* C
101 intelligatur vel] *om.* B C D F G
102 vel accipiatur] *om.* S intelligatur vel accipiatur] capiatur E
103 spiritus] et *add.* E F
104 sic] hoc E
105 voluntati] voluntate F
106 ut sit] et sic est E
107 sensus] ille *add.* E
108 tua] *om.* B
109 fit] est D
110 spiritu] fit *add.* D celo id est in spiritu E
111 quod] ut E G qui F
112 resistit] resistat E G
113 ita] fiet *add.* D
114 corpore] carne vel *add.* D
115 et] nec E
116 nec] *om.* E
117 enim] namque S
118 sed caro] *om.* A C D E
119 dicit] dicitur E
120 Romanorum] ad Romanos E
121 condelector] cum delector E
122 enim] *om.* B D E F G S
123 legi] lege F
124 video] vidi F
125 aliam] *om.* D F
126 meis] repugnantem legi mentis mee *add.* F S *om.* G
127 etc] *om.* E F

128 hic] *om.* E
129 quod] tamen *add.* S
130 quod non prevaleat] spiritum non tamen prevaleat E
131 homines] omnes F
132 terra] intelligantur *add.* E
133 respondet] correspondet E
134 voluntati] voluntate F
135 dei] *om.* D
136 et] ut sic *add.* S
137 beatis] sanctis F S
138 perfecti] perfecte E G
139 tue] *om.* D dei F
140 conformati] confortati F
141 et] etiam fiat voluntas tua S
142 nobis] *om.* D F
143 ut] scilicet *add.* S
144 faciamus] et *add.* E in terra *add.* F
145 perfecte] *om.* E
146 ab Augustino] per Augustinum E
147 hoc] ergo *add.* C isto E
148 super hoc loco] *om.* D
149 ergo] *om.* C
150 fiat] *om.* D
151 ita] et F et *add.* G S
152 ita] et *add.* B F G S
153 ita] et *add.* B F G S
154 notandum autem] sed est notandum E
155 hec] *om.* C
156 referri] referre F
157 super] ad E
158 gratia] ut dicatur sic *add.* E
159 adveniat regnum tuum sicut in celo et in terra] *om.* D
160 fiat voluntas … in terra] *om.* C terra] etc. *add.* G
161 designandum] signandum F
162 he] ille E
163 tres] *om.* D
164 complebuntur] comprehenduntur F
165 complentur] complebuntur F
166 ergo] igitur E nobis *add.* F
167 istis] hiis E F
168 in] nobis *add.* F
169 ut illa que in eis petimus et hic] ut in hac quibus petimus et hunc E et hic] *om.* F hic] hec D
170 modum possibilem] possibile C
171 et] ut E hic et F

illuc] illic S
secundum Augustinum] Augustinus F
he] iste E
sequentes] petitiones *add.* S
presentis] ut patebit infra *add.* E
dubitaret autem] sed est notandum dubitaret E
subaudiatur nobis] subintelligatur in nobis ut patet secundum preexposita E
tuum] *om.* E
nobis] in nobis E
similiter] *om.* E
et a nobis] *om.* E
hoc] hic D E
respondens] *om.* E respondit G
respondens Chrysostomus dicit] respondit Chrysostomus dicens D F dicit] *om.* G
quam] *om.* G
adhuc] adduc C D G adveniat F
est non dicit pater … in nobis] super nos fiat voluntatem tuam, fac in nobis E
aut] autem E
aut] nec E
esse] *om.* E G
medie] medio modo F
impersonaliter] pluraliter F
bonum] bona C
habuerit] habeat S
sic] *om.* E
Hec Chrysostomus] et hoc est quod dicit Crisostomus E
per hanc] preterea notandum quod per hanc E
maxime] magis S
nam dei voluntati] cui D voluntati] voluntate F
econtrario] econverso B G S
alterius] *om.* F
etiam] autem S
bonitas] bonitatis C
quod etiam] *om.* D
est autem] unde E
Augustinum] est *add.* E
prosperitas] prosperitatis S
precipue tamen] *om.* E
penes] *om.* G
bonum] donum F
qua] quare E
ipse] deus *add.* E
bonum] *om.* D
vult] desiderat E qua ipse bonum nostrum vult] *om.* F
videlicet] vult enim E

217 sanctificationis] bonum sanctificationis E
218 et] *om.* F G
219 glorificationis] bonum glorificationis E
220 hoc] verum F
221 bonum] donum vellet F
222 vellet] enim *add.* F
223 et] *om.* E F
224 venam] viam E
225 vicesimo sexto] vicesimo septimo C vicesimo octavo F vicesimo quarto G
226 philistini] in *add.* E palestini S
227 obstruxerunt] fieri *add.* F
228 sic] *om.* F
229 philistini] nobis *add.* E philistinum F palestinos S
230 omnes] *om.* E
231 de] a F
232 alii] proximi S
233 introducitur ... de virtutibus] item notandum quod per hanc petitionem de virtutibus introducitur E
234 conformare] conservare F
235 quarto decimo] *om.* C duodevicesimo F undecimo S
236 sermonem meum servabit] sequitur me C etc. G servabit] et pater meus diligit eum *add.* F
237 amicitia] amicorum *add.* E
238 facit] format E animos *add.* S
239 amicorum] *om.* E
240 secundum] ut patet per E
241 octavo] tertio C sexto F
242 Ethicorum] physicorum E
243 divina] *om.* C
244 habet] habens E hanc G
245 voluntati] voluntate F
246 voluntati dei] divine voluntati E
247 conformare] habet *add.* G
248 ipsa] caritas E
249 transformat amantem] transformantem G
250 est] *om.* A
251 conformitatem affectuum et voluntatum] conformitatio affectionum F
252 specialiter] spiritualiter E
253 dei] *om.* D
254 voluntatem dei predictam] conformitatem et voluntatem dei E
255 enim] namque S
256 trahimur] trahuntur D
257 unimur] vivimus C
258 a] et a S
259 in] sua *add.* D

260 undecimo] ubi dicitur *add.* E duocecimo F
261 vinculis] vinculo G S
262 quarto decimo] ubi dicitur *add.* E duodevicesimo F
263 et ad eum veniemus et mansiones] ad eum veniemus etc. G mansiones] mansionem D E S
264 et ad eum … faciemus] et ad eum veniamus et apud eum manisonem, apud eum faciamus C apud eum faciemus] *om.* G
265 ubi] super quo E et ad eum … ubi] *om.* F
266 etiam] *om.* F S
267 primo] ubi dicitur *add.* E
268 etc. et sequitur] qui suffert temptationem quoniam cum probatus fuerit E F
269 accipiet] accepit vel accipiet C accipiat F
270 quam repromisit deus diligentibus se] etc. G diligentibus se] hiis qui diligunt eum F
271 de donis] *om.* F
272 de donis introducitur hic] item notandum quod per hanc petitionem hic introducitur de donis E hic] *om.* S
273 spiritus] donum F
274 ipsa] ipso F
275 dei] *om.* B
276 consilio] *om.* F
277 ad que] atque E
278 autem] enim E
279 et] ad E
280 in his … comprehendere potest] *om.* F per prudentiam … comprehendere potest] *om.* S
281 tua] *om.* E
282 consilium] donum consilii E
283 donet] concedat E
284 itaque] ita per F
285 predictam] *om.* E
286 Jeremie quinaquagesimo] per Iheremiam dicentem E quinquagesimo] quadragesimo octavo F quinaquagesimo primo *in marg.* F
287 consilium] verbum F
288 domini] dei S
289 suscitabo] extendam E fundam G
290 super] *om.* S
291 habitatores] habitatorem F
292 me] *om.* C
293 ventum] ventem G
294 pestilentem] pestilantem F
295 peccatricem] peccantem S
296 cuius] huius E cui F
297 sanctus] *om.* F
298 peccata] *om.* E
299 correptiones] correctores F
300 et] ut C D E G S

301 excuciet] propulset et amoveat E
302 simile] simul E F G S
303 sumi] accipi D
304 scilicet] *om.* G
305 permanet] etc. *add.* F
306 siquidem] *om.* E
307 consilii] sicut fons vite permanet donum siquidem consilii *it.* D
308 hauritur] *om.* E
309 et] *om.* E
310 propheta] dicens *add.* G
311 de quo hauritur … fons vite] *om.* F
312 etiaim] autem S
313 introducitur etiam per hanc petitionem] item notandum quod per hanc petitionem introducitur E
314 remedium] consilium et remedium E
315 predicta] *om.* E impletur autem … predicta] *om.* F
316 triplex … misericordibus] *om.* C
317 et] *om.* F S
318 quia] quod C *om.* F
319 extinguit] *om.* G
320 peccata] peccatum C D E F G S
321 psalmi] dicit psalmus C psalmus G S psalmo D psalmista E *om.* F
322 sine] *om.* C
323 non est sine gratia] sine gratia esse non potest E
324 Proverbiorum quarto … et] *om.* F
325 quinto] tertio F
326 promittitur] repromittitur E
327 aliis] propter aliis] A
328 impendunt] impenderunt B C impenderent F
329 hoc] *om.* D
330 ipsi] ipsum E
331 recipiant] consequantur E recipiunt F
332 etiam] *om.* F
333 tres] virtutes *add.* E
334 et] *om.* C
335 quidem] qualis B C
336 que] *om.* S
337 etiam] et B
338 qua] *om.* D
339 ferventi] ferventius in F
340 ferventi desiderio] per mentis desiderium E
341 bonitas] benignitas C
342 voluntatis] bonitatis et F
343 magis] ad *add.* E vero magis] *om.* F
344 executionem operis] executione operum F

345 quem] quasi D E F
346 ignis] quia ignis *add.* D
347 fervere] enim *add.* F
348 fervere facit ad benefaciendum] vel cui bonus ignis amoris finem facit ad benefaciendum, quem nobis concedat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat E benefaciendum] sequitur petitio alia que est quarta in ordine etc. *add.* D faciendum omne bonum et cetera F

Lectio sexta

1 supersubstantialem] cottidianum E F
2 hodie] hec est quarta petitio respiciens vitam presentem et continuatur sic *add.* E
3 petivimus] petimus B C
4 ea] illa S
5 descendimus] descendamus S
6 respiciunt] ad *add.* F vitam presentam seu *add.* S vitam futuram … que respiciunt] *om.* C
7 hic] hoc B C D G
8 quam hic nomine panis petimus] *om.* F
9 in Enchiridio] *om.* E
10 inquit] inquam D
11 primis] tribus *add.* S
12 proficimus] perficius G
13 alia] aliis C
14 possidebuntur] possidebimus F possidebimur G possidentur S
15 reliquis] relique F
16 que sequuntur *add. in marg.* A *om.* E G
17 quatuor] petitionibus *add.* E
18 qui] hic *add.* E
19 consequenter] communiter F G
20 hic] *om.* E
21 ita] intelligitur *add.* E
22 et ita de aliis] *om.* C
23 hec] ista E
24 dupliciter] differenter F
25 pane] *om.* C
26 et] *om.* E id est F
27 dicendum] sciendum B C F S
28 in] *om.* E
29 dictionibus sex includuntur] *om.* E
30 attendende] sunt attendende que in istis sex petitionibus includuntur E attendendo F
31 namque] enim E
32 resecatur] refutatur E
33 quod] *om.* C
34 dicitur] dicit D F
35 non] enim *add.* D

36 ait] autem C enim dicit E dicit S
37 non] nec B F neque D vel E S
38 nec] vel D E S non G
39 sed solum quod necessarium est nature] sed solummodo exprimit panem vite necessarium E
40 signatur] significatur E
41 panem] ut patet *add.* E
42 vicesimo nono] secundo F
43 hominis] est *add.* E
44 resecatur] refutatur E
45 rapacitas] capacitas D
46 rapiat] incipiat G
47 alias sibi] *om.* E sibi] *om.* F
48 illicitum] ab aliis *add.* E
49 usurpet vel illicite] *om.* F
50 vel illicite acquirat] *om.* E
51 nostrum] et *add.* E
52 unde] *om.* F
53 cum peccato] de peccato manducat E
54 resecatur] refutatur E
55 vel leccacitas] *om.* E F vel voracitas seu leccacitas S
56 ut] vel G
57 summendo] homo *add.* S
58 querat] acquirat E
59 leccacitatem et] gulositatem vel F *om.* G
60 leccacitatem et delectationem] dilectationem E
61 cum] non A G in carnem *add.* S
62 cum convertitur] dicitur E convertitur] sed *add.* D
63 quasi] *om.* F
64 et] ut E
65 deperditi corpus sustentatur] cibi deperditum corporis restauretur E sustentatur] substentatur D restauratur atque sustentatur F
66 nostre] *om.* C
67 superteneatur] semper teneatur E
68 unde dicit] Glossa *add.* C ut F
69 decimo] nono D
70 decimo Confessionum] *om.* F
71 hoc] hec D *om.* F
72 dicit] *om.* C dicitur F
73 ubi autem Mattheus dicit supersubstantialem, Lucas dicit cottidianum] et notandum quod ubi Lucas dicit cottidianum ibi Matheus dicit supersubstantialem E
74 enim] cum E
75 fit] sit E
76 deperditio] perditio D nature *add.* D S
77 necesse] necessarium E

78 cottidie in nobis … est ut] *om.* F
79 cottidie] in nobis *add.* S
80 sustentativus] substantivus S
81 ut sit sensus] et sic sensus est ille E
82 et] *om.* F
83 non] *om.* C
84 eo] domino G
85 quod] hic *add.* E
86 subditur] scilicet *add.* D
87 quarto] ergo F
88 resecatur] refutatur E
89 ingratitudo] magnitudo G
90 ne scilicet] nisi F scilicet] *om.* E
91 posse] *om.* F
92 dicat] diceret D
93 quia] *om.* D
94 des] deus C domine *add.* E
95 Psalmi] unde psalmista E Psalmus G
96 dices] diceres D E F S
97 est] *om.* C
98 quod enim] nam quod E
99 noster] nostrum B D E F G
100 item videtur quod] ex quo sequitur quod E
101 habeat] videtur F
102 sufficientem] sufficienter D
103 secundum] quod F
104 Moralibus] dicit *add.* S
105 est] *om.* F
106 noster] vero *add.* E
107 vel] unde F
108 nostrum] *om.* F
109 iam] *om.* D
110 ut] *om.* C
111 datur] datus E G
112 id est] *om.* D
113 nos] *om.* D F
114 da nobis] *om.* F
115 sicut] igitur F
116 accipiens] sumens F
117 ei] *om.* F
118 enim] *om.* F
119 sed] secundum F
120 sanctificatum est, beneficium] est sanctificatum et benedictum D
121 sed quod sanctificatum est, beneficium est sacerdotis] sed sanctificatum esse est ipius sacerdotis consecrantis E

122 erit] est S
123 sensus] iste *add.* E
124 da] nobis *add.* E
125 absque benedictione] sine sanctificatione seu benedictione E
126 et] *om.* E
127 exponendi] exponendum est F
128 cum] *om.* D
129 hoc] *om.* E
130 cottidianum da] etc. *add.* C nobis *add.* E *om.* F
131 et tibi fac] etc. B F *om.* C S da et tibi fac] etc. G
132 sensus] idem sensus B C F S item sensus G
133 et tibi fac sensus est sicut] est idem sensus primo E sicut] *om.* C S
134 hoc panem … cum dicimus] *add. in marg. infra* A
135 in benedictione mense] *om.* F
136 domine] nos et *add.* F hec *add.* S
137 dona] *om.* C
138 tua] *om.* E
139 que … sumpturi] *om.* F etc. G
140 tali] nempe *add.* F
141 mente] benedictione F
142 domini] dei F
143 ac si sibi a manu domini presentialiter ministretur] sive sit de mane sive de nocte tamquam a deo principaliter ministretur E presentialiter ministretur] principaliter ministraretur D F ministretur] ministraretur G
144 resecatur] refutatur E
145 incommunitas] incommunicativitas B C D E F
146 ut scilicet] ne si F scilicet] *om.* E
147 ita] *om.* F
148 quin] quoniam D quando S
149 etiam] *om.* F
150 appropriet quin etiam aliis indigentibus] *om.* E
151 communicet] communicaret F
152 non] et non E peto *add.* F
153 solum] soli S
154 dat] *om.* F
155 per nos aliis] ideo D
156 impotentibus] in petentibus C G petentibus E in potioribus F inde petentibus S
157 eis] illis F eius G
158 qui] que B
159 et] *om.* F
160 dicit] *om.* D E S
161 quod] ego *add.* B
162 tibi] *om.* F
163 habuisti] habuistati D
164 habe] habere C

165 debitorem] detutorem D
166 habe debitorem habe feneratorem] ac editorem et venatorem E
167 resecatur] refutatur E
168 nimia] in misericordia E
169 nimis] *om.* E
170 in providendo] *om.* F
171 in providendo sibi in futurum] in colligendo sibi in futuris E
172 dicit] dicitur S
173 non] enim dicit *add.* E
174 immo] *om.* C
175 cras] crastinum E
176 perveniemus] perveniamus B C F G
177 ex qua] propter quam E
178 septimo] sexto S
179 solliciti] *om.* C sollicite E
180 crastinus] crastina C E F G
181 sollicitus] sollicita E
182 crastinus enim … malitia sua] *om.* D
183 ad] *om.* E
184 potest] ad illud *add.* E
185 dicit] dicitur F
186 annuum] annualem E
187 vel] a *add.* B C non in E ad *add.* G
188 annis] annos et F
189 ulterioris] ulteriora F
190 crastine] crastina F
191 enim] *om.* E
192 quam] quare igitur E
193 quam ob] *om.* D
194 in] *om.* S
195 in illius sollicitudine] nullius sollicitudinem F
196 et] *om.* F
197 sollicitentur] sollicitantur E
198 Cyprianus] Crisostomus C *sed* Cyprianus *notatur in marg.*
199 discipulus] discipulis D
200 contrarium enim] contrariumque F
201 petimus] in hiis *add.* E
202 queremus] et *add.* E queramus F
203 manere] permanere S
204 et] sed est E
205 notandum] *om.* C
206 non dicitur cibus diurnus vel cottidianus] cibus sive cottidianus est E
207 qui] que D
208 una] uno F
209 sed] et E

210 die] et hoc *add.* E
211 et hoc est] secundum E
212 instruimur] instruitur E
213 impellit] petit F
214 si enim in] sine F
215 tantum] *ultimum verbum E, postea E desita est*
216 tibi] *om.* C
217 sufficere] tibi *add.* B
218 potest] posset F
219 alio] secundo S
220 petitio] expositio F clausula S
221 est] *om.* C
222 triplex] quadruplex S
223 panis] videlicet *add.* D scilicet *add.* F
224 panis doctrinalis, sacramentalis et celestis] panis doctrinalis, panis luctualis, panis sacramentalis, et panis celestis S
225 sic] *om.* G
226 vel sic panis] ut sic F
227 panis intelligentie, eucharistie, glorie] panis intelligentie, panis mestitie, panis eucharistie et panis glorie S
228 primus] panis *add.* S
229 repellit] expellit G
230 erroris] secundus est incitamentum doloris *add.* S
231 secundus] tertius S
232 Secundus est in] Secundum est C in] *om.* F S
233 tertius] quartus S
234 prebet] precibus C
235 Ecclesiastici] *om.* D
236 quindecimo] *om.* C
237 cibavit] cibabit F
238 etc.] et C sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore dei F
239 in] *om.* D F
240 fulcit] fulcitur F
241 dicitur] enim *add.* B S etiam *add.* C G autem *add.* F
242 cottidianum] cottidianus C
243 ut] vel G
244 dari] *om.* A D
245 est] *om.* B
246 hodie] pensatur *add. in marg.* B
247 Hebraeorum] ad Hebraeos G
248 hortamini] hortamur A hortantur F
249 vos] ad *add.* D vosmetipsos S
250 ignarus] ignorans S
251 Iohannis sexto] S *add.*: De secundo pane scilicet luctus sive mestitie dicit in Psalmo: Cibabis nos pane lachrymarum. Et alibi: Surgite postquam sederitis qui manducatis

panem doloris. Iste panis dicitur supersubstantialis, quia superadditur vite presenti, que tota miseria est. Et ideo eam deflemus dicentes: heu michi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est. Dicitur etiam quotidianus, quia quotidie lugere debemus pre amore dei et desiderio patrie dicente Apostolo: Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Unde Psalmi: Fuerunt michi lachryme mee panes die ac nocte.

252 secundo] tertio S
253 eucharistie] sacramentalis sive eucharistie S
254 de secundo … sexto] *om.* D
255 etc.] qui de celo descendit F
256 super Mattheum] *om.* F
257 quando] cum S
258 deus] *om.* S
259 etc.] *om.* C G
260 epusyon] epysion B epyusion C epuision F epinsion S
261 quidam] quidem S
262 interpretantur] interpretatur G S
263 peculiarem] peculiare S
264 summe] summere C *om.* F
265 deos] deus G
266 sicut] si C
267 adest] *om.* S
268 dominus] *om.* F S
269 sicut adest nobus dominus deus noster] etc. G
270 quod] *om.* F
271 panem] *om.* G
272 esse] *om.* F
273 unde dicitur] *om.* F
274 carnem] *om.* B
275 etc.] et bibit sanguinem meum F
276 et ego in eo] etc. C in me manet et ego in eo] *om.* G
277 panis] iste *add.* S
278 est] *om.* S
279 in libro] *om.* C
280 in libro de verbis domini] *om.* F
281 ut] quod C
282 accipere] *om.* B
283 qui non meretur … annum accipere] *om.* F
284 iste] ille G
285 illum] *om.* F
286 sumas] sumis S
287 ibidem] *om.* F
288 accipis] accipias B
289 cottidie] *om.* C
290 tibi] est *add.* C *om.* S
291 hodie enim … resurgit] *om.* F G

292 in] hac *add.* B
293 ut supra] *om.* F
294 accipiemus] deum *add.* S
295 sed] *om.* F
296 domini] dei F
297 transformabimur] transformamur F
298 domini] domino F
299 speculantes … spiritu] *om.* G
300 secunde] secunda C
301 secunde Corinthiorum tertio] *om.* F
302 tertio] quarto S
303 Luce] *om.* C
304 quartadecimo] quarto F
305 dei] celorum F
306 et bene] unde F
307 beata] *om.* F G
308 et] etiam C F G S
309 in Christo] Christi S
310 quod] est *add.* F
311 secundum] beatum *add.* B C quod secundum] *om.* D
312 secundum Bernardum] bene G
313 enim] *om.* B
314 est] *om.* G
315 panis] scilicet panis *add.* C
316 divinitatis] deitatis S
317 ut] *om.* S
318 quid] et quid B F
319 quid est homo] et quidem homo est C
320 nisi] *om.* C
321 et] *om.* F
322 est] *om.* D
323 in] *om.* F G
324 una] vita D
325 ergo] enim D
326 panis ergo subcinericius est panis] *it.* F
327 sub] substantie F
328 reversatus] reservatus F
329 est] econverso *add.* B C F G S
330 quasi] *om.* F
331 occultavit] occultavitur S
332 eo] quasi *add.* G
333 quasi in eo … humanitas in eo] *om.* F in eo] *om.* S
334 fuit] et *add.* S
335 divinitatem] deitatem S
336 probationi] probationem G

337 humanitatis] humanitas C
338 divinitatis] divinitas C
339 verum] unum B
340 esse] *om.* C
341 hominem] humanitatem D
342 probabat] probavit G
343 est] et D *om.* F
344 furfure] et *add.* D
345 simula] simila C D S
346 deitas] divinitas B F
347 devotioni] devotio F
348 non] solum *add.* D
349 semel] solus F
350 deus] *om.* D
351 hoc] hic C G
352 addat] addit D
353 deus] *om.* D
354 hoc faciat michi … ut sit deus, deus meus] *om.* F
355 deus] *om.* G
356 si] sit F
357 si non] nisi D
358 ergo] enim F G
359 subcinericius] *om.* D
360 sue] sub F
361 est] *om.* C
362 enim] *om.* G
363 reservaverit] reservavit G
364 videlicet] *om.* F
365 eis] eo F
366 autem] etiam F
367 reversatus] reservatus B C
368 beati] *om.* F
369 suam] humanam F
370 dotatam] *om.* C
371 dotatam et sublimatam] devotam F
372 collocatam] collocatum G
373 unde Bernardus] secundum Bernardum F
374 et] *om.* B C D F G S
375 conditorem] conditionem D
376 quam] que F
377 et] *om.* D
378 nude] et *add.* D
379 ingrediantur] ingrediamur S
380 per divinitatis contemplationem] ad contemplationsi excellentiam S
381 egrediantur] ingrediantur F egrediamur S

382 intuitionem] intentionem F
383 semper] propter F
384 invenient] invenientis F inveniemus S
385 per] pro F
386 pascua] gaudia D
387 virentis] virentes C virentia F
388 electorum] beatorum G
389 dum] inspicitur *add.* D
390 conspicitur] fui D
391 sine] *om.* D
392 cibo] cibus C
393 igitur] ergo D
394 panis] cibus seu panis S
395 reficiemur] reficimur D respiciemur F
396 hodie] *om.* D
397 Dicamus ergo panem … in eternitate] *om.* A C D dicamus ergo panem nostrum materialem da nobis hodie, id est, in ista die; doctrinaelm da nobis hodie in vita presenti; sacdramentalem da nobis hodie in vita; celestem da nobis hodie, id est, in eternitate F dicamus ergo panem nostrum quotidianum doctrinalem da nobis hodie, id est, in vita presenti. Panem nostrum quotidianum luctualem da nobis hodie in vita presenti. Panem nostrum sacramentalem da nobis hodie id est in vita presenti. Panem nostrum quotidianum celestem da nobis hodie id est in eternitate S
398 dictis] predictis S
399 quia] *om.* F
400 a sumptione] assumptionis C
401 triplicis] triplici D quadruplicis S
402 et hebetat] *om.* F presentis vite solatia procreat *add.* S
403 diabolum] dyabulo D G
404 hominem] *om.* F
405 et devorat] *om.* D
406 gula] *om.* F
407 intellectionem] intellectum G propter secundum impedit luctum et presentis vite miserie *add.* S
408 secundum] gula *add.* D tertium S
409 impedit] *om.* F
410 tertium] gula *add.* D quartum S
411 ebrius] ebreus B
412 et omnis … est] *om.* F G devorata est] divino etc. C
413 et confunditur] *om.* D
414 perspicaciam] prospicaciam S
415 devorando] consilium *add.* C
416 Osee tredecimo] Jeremie duodecimo F
417 mei] S *add.*: Secundum patet Exodii iii et et 1 Corinthiorum iiij: sedit populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere. Et per hoc gula impedit luctum pro quanto in presenti homines gaudere facit. Unde Gregorius 1 Moralium: pene semper epulas concomitatur

voluptas. Nam cum corpus in refectionis delectatione resolvitur, cor ad inane gaudium relaxatur.

418 secundum] tertium S
419 septimo] octavo C D G
420 habitat] inhabitat G
421 perceptionem] sumptionem vel perceptionem G sumptionem S
422 que] quid F
423 secunde] *om.* D
424 tertium] quartum S
425 sextodecimo] undevicesimo F
426 divite epulone] divite splendide epulante S
427 tertii] quarti S
428 infernum] infernus A B C D G F scilicet *add.* F
429 et] *om.* B etiam G S
430 autem] *om.* F
431 signatur] significatur C designatur D
432 ut] unde G
433 ut dicitur in Psalmo] *om.* F
434 hanc] unde hanc F
435 triplex] quadruplex S
436 quinto decimo] tertio C
437 cibabit] cibavit B F G S
438 panem] pane G S
439 et intellectus] etc. C G
440 subdit] subditur S
441 Maccabeorum] prima Maccadeorum C primo Machabeorum D G ii Maccabeorumm S
442 quod] qui G
443 armavit] armabat D
444 in] *om.* F
445 vel] et S
446 optimis] S *add.*: Secundo confortat mentem et si non ventrem panis luctus et mestitie, Thobie iii. Post luctationem et fletum exultationem infundis. Unde Cassianus super illud Psalmi: Surgite postquam sederitis qui manudcatis panem doloris, dicit sic: Revera perfectis Christianis ipse dolor panis est cum se de afflictione reficiunt et de mundana tristitia consolantur et spiritu roborantur.
447 secundo] tertio S
448 etiam] et B F G
449 figuratum] si granatum G
450 ambulavit] ambulabat S
451 diebus] dies F
452 noctibus] noctes F
453 ut legitur tertio Regum undevicesimo] *om.* F
454 figuratus] significatur D
455 Christi] licet *add.* F
456 ibi panis sub cinere] panis subcinericius F

457 sub cinere … istius panis] *om.* D
458 perfectionis] doctrine F
459 quam] *om.* D
460 prospera … inter] *om.* B
461 Oreb] scilicet *add.* F ad *add.* S
462 id est] scilicet B *om.* F
463 beatitudinis] beatitudinem G
464 tertio] quarto S
465 etiam] in S
466 trigesimo] tertio F
467 unde] ut F
468 dicit] *om.* F
469 at] *om.* C D G
470 triplici] quadruplici S
471 pane] pani C F
472 eodem] eo S
473 differat] differant C
474 ut] *om.* B
475 patere potest] primo patet G
476 beatitudinibus] beatitudine F
477 vero] *om.* D
478 nos] vos D
479 satis] scitis G
480 iustos] estimemus *add.* S
481 et] sed C D G
482 intelligamus] intelligamur S
483 simile] similiter B F
484 sed semper esurit] *om.* F
485 semper] in *add.* F G
486 est] semper *add.* D
487 accipitur] accipiatur S
488 ea] eo D F
489 esurientes] esuriens C
490 triplicem] quadruplicem S
491 spiritualem] *om.* F
492 verbi] verbum D
493 ipsa] *om.* G
494 esurient] esuriunt C D
495 verbum] verbo D
496 magis] plus C G plus *add.* F S
497 quanto] quam D plus *add.* S
498 edit] S *add.*: Item esurientes pascuntur pane mestitie, perfecti enim viri non solum mestitias presentes patienter suscipiunt, sed etiam eas esuriunt. Unde et dominus cum appropinquaret loco passionis sue esurisse legitur Marci xi. Esuriet autem secundum Bedam passionem suam pro nostra salute sicut etiam in cruce sitivit.

499 psalmi] psalmus C D G
500 deus] *om.* G
501 fuit] fuerit C fuerat D
502 ut habetur] *om.* C
503 sexto decimo] duodevicesimo F S
504 septimo] *om.* C
505 etc.] etiam D *om.* F
506 benedictum] *om.* F
507 desiderans] desiderat F
508 debet] potest F
509 ferventius] ardentius F
510 omnium] omnia C
511 habundanti] habundantia C D F G
512 ubi] ibi F
513 nostrum] tuum F
514 ut] unde C D G S
515 in libro] *om.* D
516 inquit] deus *add.* S
517 Moyses] Moysi S
518 ipse] *om.* D
519 omne bonum ipse deus … omne bonum habet] *om.* F
520 et] ex F
521 Psalmi] *om.* D
522 tua] etc. C
523 respondet] correspondet F
524 qua] quo F S
525 desideriorum] *om.* F
526 significatur] signatur B S signatum F
527 quam] quantum F
528 expectit] petit F S
529 vultu tuo] vult C cum vultu tuo] *om.* G
530 pertractans] tractans F
531 est adimpletio] erit impletio F
532 erit] dicitur F
533 deus] *om.* G
534 exterioribus] executionibus F
535 omnis] *om.* C omnibus G
536 rerum] in C
537 et patet] *om.* D G etc. F

Lectio septima

1 quando] qui S
2 et] *om.* S

3 delicti] delictorum F
4 rerum] pater G
5 ordinatarum] ordinarum
6 peccavimus] peccamus C F S
7 decimo] nono D
8 decimo Confessionum] *om.* F
9 qui] quando D
10 aliquando] alium C
11 rapiatur] rapitur C G
12 petitio de dimissione peccati] dimissio delicti F
13 modus] modis F
14 nos] etc. *add.* G
15 quantum] et quantum F
16 et] *om.* S
17 ex] *om.* G
18 ad dicendum istam] dicere hanc S
19 tenentur] scire *add.* F
20 plus] *om.* C D
21 cottidie] *om.* F
22 iubetur] iubere C iubemur G
23 sed] hic F
24 videtur] ergo *add.* S
25 quod] *om.* D
26 dicuntur] dicantur D
27 peccata] *om.* D
28 debita] et econverso *add.* S
29 fecimus] facimus C
30 iudici] iudice C
31 quod] quia C
32 ex] pro C
33 facimus] faciamus C
34 penam] et *add.* S
35 debiti] debita F
36 intelliguntur] intelligitur G
37 potius] petimus F
38 nostra] *om.* D S
39 peccata] nostra *add.* S
40 nostra] *om.* A C D
41 petimus] nobis *add.* S
42 quam] quia D
43 nonnumquam] non umquam D
44 peccatum] nostrum *add.* S
45 quo] qui C quantum F S
46 dictum] dicendum C
47 debeamus] debemus F

48 est] *om.* F G S
49 aliquid] aliud C G
50 aliquid] aliud C
51 nostris] *om.* C
52 nobisipsis] nobis ipsam D nobismetipsis F
53 proximis] nostris *add.* S
54 inquam] *om.* C
55 affligetis] affligitis C affligens F
56 vestras deo] *om.* F
57 latriam] S *add.*: Latria enim comprehendit quinque scilicet fidem, sapientiam, reverentiam, sacrificium et orationem. Prima duo sunt cordis; secunda duo operis; et ultimum oris.
58 adoratio] oblatio G
59 oblatio] ablatio C *om.* G
60 talia] *om.* B alia F
61 diffinitur] religio *add.* S
62 in] *om.* D G
63 cuidam nature] quidam notatur F
64 ceremoniamque affert] *om.* F
65 tamquam] in *add.* F
66 deo] *om.* F
67 perpetuo] perpetua religione D
68 religio] hec religiositas F
69 nobisipsis] nobis C S
70 sumus] *om.* G
71 spiritui] spiritu F
72 ita quod spiritui] *om.* G spiritui] spiritu F
73 quidem] quid C
74 vivimus] vivamus C
75 in] *om.* B
76 quod] in *add.* G
77 nobisipsis] nobis C
78 quod quidem facimus quando … debemus] *om.* D F
79 hoc] quo F
80 13] nono F
81 ubi] *om.* F
82 non] animo C
83 aliquid] ad *add.* F
84 ut non debeatis al iud caritatem vero ita solvite] *add. in marg. infra* G
85 semper] eam *add.* F
86 reddita] redebita C
87 quando] cum F
88 debemus] debetur S
89 nobisipsis sive] nobis etiam S
90 debita id est] *om.* S

91 debita] *om.* F
92 inquam] *om.* F
93 commissimus] omissimus F
94 et] *om.* F G
95 conditione] conditioni F
96 dimittimus debitoribus nostris] *om.* D debitoribus nostris] etc. F
97 quod] quam F
98 dubitari] dubitare S
99 multipliciter] multum F multis modis S
100 et] *om.* D
101 nostrum] quotidianum *add.* F S
102 nobis] hodie *add.* F S
103 et] vel F
104 et] *om.* F
105 et huiusmodi] *om.* G huiusmodi] huius C
106 ratio] hec *add.* F
107 quia] nostrum vel *add.* D
108 semper dare] liberare D
109 vel] nec D aus S
110 vel etiam] et F
111 liberare] semper dare D
112 et] *om.* D
113 ad] *om.* F
114 vel] etiam *add.* G
115 non] *om.* B
116 tenemur] semper *add.* D
117 ad] et B
118 remittere] dimittere F S
119 propter quod … malivolentiam] *om.* C
120 proximum] proximos F
121 ad] *om.* G
122 ad dandum vel ad liberandum] ad liberandum vel dandum D
123 concernunt] continent F
124 extrinsecus] extrinsecos D F S
125 quare] *om.* G
126 sit] potest *add.* F
127 hoc] *om.* D
128 respondeo] responsio C D
129 lesione] cesione C
130 iniusta alterius] iniustus D
131 duo] scilicet *add.* D S
132 inimicitia] *om.* F
133 quem] quod B que S
134 lesus] ledens D
135 ledentem] ledende D

136 potest] patet B
137 lesus] lesis F
138 autem] *om.* C
139 repetere] respicere C
140 ille] iste C
141 ergo … debitum] *om.* F
142 ille] iste C G
143 petit] exigit S
144 iniuria] iniuriam F
145 et videtur … sibi facta] *om.* D facta] factam F
146 respondendum] responsio C respondendo D respondeo G respondit S
147 secundum Augustinum] Augustinus quod S
148 hic] *om.* G
149 sed] *om.* F
150 et] *om.* C
151 inimicitie] non *add.* B S
152 reinferende] inferende F *om.* G
153 quidem] ad C
154 est] *add. in marg.* D
155 autem] *om.* F
156 quis] quidem D
157 unde] bene F
158 qui] cum F G
159 reddere] potest *add.* D reddat tibi S
160 redderit] reddierit B reddit F reddiderit G S
161 quod] quia G
162 non] cuique D
163 potes] poteris B C F
164 debita nostra] *om.* D
165 nostra etc.] *om.* G etc.] *om.* B F sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris S
166 ille] iste C *om.* F
167 qui] in D
168 dicit] dicendo D F dicat G
169 orationem] petitionem S
170 debitoribus] nostris *add.* S
171 dimittimus debitoribus et non dimittit] sicut et nos dimittimus F
172 quia] *om.* F
173 a destructione] ad destructionem F
174 si] sicut F sicut nos S
175 sed] si F
176 nos] *om.* F
177 non] debes *add.* D
178 respondeo] responsio C D respondendum F
179 scilicet] *om.* S
180 etiam] enim F

181 scilicet novo peccato … in eo perservendo] *om.* A C D G perservendo] perservando F
182 nec] non C
183 nec tamen remissinem impetrat] *om.* F
184 aut] si autem F
185 aut] *om.* C quod F
186 intelligendo] intelligi B
187 remissionis] dimissionis F
188 sicut] *om.* A D
189 meo] *om.* S
190 michi] *add. in marg.* G
191 cum] *om.* F
192 quia] qui F
193 arguendo] argumento C F
194 intendit] intelligit D
195 dimittimus] debita *add.* C
196 etiam] in C
197 talis] in hoc F
198 preceptum] precepta G *in marg.*
199 remittenda] dimittendo F
200 servat] fuerat C
201 enim] ut F
202 infra] *om.* D S
203 celestis] *om.* B C F G S
204 unde] ubi B F A
205 dicit] *om.* D
206 hoc] *om.* D
207 et quod feceris hoc ipse patiaris] *om.* S
208 etiam] tamen G
209 predicta] hec F
210 evitare] vitare F S
211 mentiuntur] mentiantur B D F S
212 nec] et D
213 mutant] mutantes F
214 dicentes] *om.* F
215 nostra] *om.* C
216 quam nos] quamquam C
217 petunt] petant F
218 non] nec G
219 non tamen impetrant] *om.* F
220 oratione] ratione C G ratione qua et S
221 dicta] dicitur F
222 scienter] scient C
223 pertinaciter] pertinacie C
224 retinent] pertinent B retineret D recusant G

225 est] *om.* C
226 dubium] *om.* G
227 eos incurrere] hos incurrerent C
228 ut] *om.* C
229 et] *om.* F
230 temere] tenere C
231 temere immutare] tenere et mutare F
232 imprecatio] interpertatio F
233 hec] hoc D F
234 etc.] *om.* C F
235 si] *om.* G
236 si quis] suis F
237 eius] eis B illorum F
238 quid] quod C D
239 perfectum et imperfectum] perfectis et imperfectis S
240 debet etiam] *om.* F
241 petenti] petendo F
242 veniam] nominam C
243 omnimode] *om.* G
244 autem] *om.* C
245 quidem] quidam D *om.* F
246 de corde] cordis S
247 in] *om.* G
248 punire] vel impedire *add.* S
249 quantum] quando S
250 nostra] nostrum F
251 dixit] dixerit C
252 nobis] debita *add.* D prius *add.* S
253 nos] *om.* S
254 dimitteret] peccata nostra *add.* S
255 quidam] quidem G
256 ita] sic G
257 intelligi] intelligere S
258 nostra] *om.* C
259 etc.] *om.* G
260 id est] *om.* F G
261 dimitte nobis debita nostra etc. id est sic] *om.* D
262 dimittamus] dimittimus B
263 nostris] ita quod sic accipiatur contextus verborum, dimitte nobis debita nostra, sic ut et nos dimittamus debitoribus *add.* S
264 hic] iste F
265 post] postea D S
266 vobis] nobis C
267 pater] vester *add.* B C S
268 dimiseritis hominibus] dicitur hic D hominibus] peccata eorum *add.* F hic G

269 vester] *om.* F
270 celestis] *om.* B G S
271 dimittet] vobis *add.* F
272 peccata vestra] vobis peccata C
273 ergo] *om.* B F
274 dicens] *om.* F
275 acceperunt] acceperent D acceperint F
276 peccati suiipsi] peccatorum eorum ipsi D suiipsi] sui ipse S
277 debitoribus] peccata *add.* G
278 dimittunt] dimitterent D F
279 dimittamus] remittamus G
280 petamus] recipiamus S
281 hec] hoc F
282 omnia] *om.* F
283 iustitiam] dei *add.* F S
284 debitum suum] totum debitum suum C
285 enim] *om.* S
286 primo enim ira non reddit debitum] *om.* F
287 illud] *om.* F
288 scilicet] *om.* C
289 se] seipsum D
290 ipsa] *om.* D
291 sui] suam F
292 sit] sic C
293 vindicte] vindicto C
294 quinto] secundo B
295 et] *om.* B D F G S
296 et ledit … provocat] *add. in marg. supra* G provocat] id est *add.* G *in marg. supra*
297 ut dicitur] *om.* F
298 Proverbiorum] *om.* C
299 vicesimo nono] undevicesimo F
300 hec] *om.* F
301 de ira] *om.* C
302 Gregorius] in *add.* B
303 quietem] quietum S
304 requiescere] quiescere G
305 dicitur] *om.* S
306 quia] qui S
307 menti] mentem F
308 relinquitur] requiritur F
309 dum] enim F
310 suggerit] suggerat G
311 rectum] iustum esse F
312 veritatis] caritatis F
313 cum] *om.* G

314 incutit] concutit C
315 congregationis] cognitionis C G
316 gratia] gratie D
317 socialis] spiritualis F
318 eius] *om.* B
319 et] *om.* F
320 a] aliis] F
321 iurisperitis] viris sapientibus et aperitis D peritis F viris peritis G S
322 prout] ut F
323 tribuens] retributio F
324 propriam dignitatem] prophetam dicentem F
325 sibi] *om.* C sibiipsi F
326 pari concordiam] *om.* F G
327 quia] ut *add.* F
328 scientie] sanctum F
329 quo] qua D
330 que] qui G
331 propheta] *om.* S
332 in Psalmo] Psalmus S
333 querit] dicit F
334 dicat] diceret S
335 nullus] *om.* B
336 cui] *om.* D
337 tu] domine *add.* G
338 me domine] *om.* C domine] *om.* B F G
339 cuique] unicuique F S
340 quid sit] *om.* F quid] quod C
341 cuique] unicuique S
342 unde absque dono scientie] *om.* B C
343 opera iustitie] iustitiam F
344 dicit] dicitur F
345 iustificavit] iustificabit S
346 loquitur] ponitur F
347 dona] scilicet *add.* F
348 propter] per D
349 etiam] et S
350 ipse] *om.* C F
351 filii] consilii F
352 ad] *om.* S
353 quarto] octavo F
354 sua] *om.* C
355 docendo] dicendo C
356 cuique] unicuique S
357 quid] quod D
358 sibiipsis] sibiipsi F

359 quid] *om.* D F
360 que] qui G
361 que debita peccando contraxerunt] om. F contraxerunt] contraxerint B C G S
362 et] *om.* F
363 scire] *om.* D F facere G
364 ideo] *om.* C
365 spiritum scientie] spiritui sancto F
366 consequenter] tamen C convenienter S
367 adaptatur] coaptatur F
368 per quod scitur de quibus lugendum sit] *om.* F
369 tam] quam B F G S
370 que] *om.* D F S
371 nosmetipsos] nosipsos D
372 vel] quam F S
373 Psalmus] propheta D
374 humiliabitur] humiliabar B F S
375 etiam] *om.* C et S
376 pro] de F
377 sed] et C
378 pro] *om.* D
379 qui] *om.* D
380 peccata] peccatum B F
381 ipsa] ipsum F
382 itaque] ita quod C D F ita ut S
383 eorum] ipsorum B S
384 est] *om.* C autem *add.* S
385 et] *om.* F autem G
386 alius] *om.* G
387 qui] que C
388 pro incolatu] colatum F
389 dilatione] celestis *add.* S
390 luxit] lugebat F
391 dicebat] dixit C S
392 prolongatus est etc.] *om.* G etc] *om.* B F S
393 respondet] correspondet F
394 pro premio] primo F G
395 tristatur] tristaretur ut F
396 moderativa] moderatam C moderantia G
397 philosophus] *om.* F
398 et] *om.* F
399 ut] *it.* B
400 dimittit] et cetera sequitur *add.* D

Lectio octava

1 peccatorum] et *add.* F
2 postea] post modum F
3 patiatur] *om.* C
4 futuroum] futuris S
5 ideo] hic G
6 subsequitur] sequitur D F
7 premissam] predictam S
8 rationalis] rationabilis S
9 Iacobus] ita S
10 temptemur] temptetur videtur G
11 oremus] oramus F
12 beneficemur] beatificentur C temptemur S
13 item] quia F
14 etiam] *om.* F S
15 et tempta me] etc. C me] ure renes etc. *add.* D
16 hec] *om.* F
17 rationalis] rationabilis S
18 ut videtur] *om.* C
19 quod] quia G
20 ista] illa C
21 temptationem] temptationibus C in temptationem S
22 in] *om.* F
23 et] *scripsi*
24 in temptationem induci] *om.* F
25 temptari] enim *add.* S
26 pulsari] compulsari C
27 virtus] situs D
28 est] *om.* B
29 secundum Augustinum … esse potest] *om.* F
30 est] et *add.* S
31 anima] est *add.* D
32 agrestes] agressus F
33 cognitionum] cogitationum B S
34 idem legitur] sicut habetur F
35 interpellari] interpellamus F
36 idem legitur … possibile est] *om.* B susicpere vero … possibile est] *om.* C
37 sexagesimum] *om.* A D super psalmum sexagesimum] *om.* F
38 quia] et F
39 nostram] *om.* D in eternum F
40 sibi quisquam] nobis quidquam F
41 temptatus] et *add.* F
42 coronari] eternari F
43 vincerit] vincit et F vicerit S

44 nec] non B F S
45 certaverit] curaverit C
46 nec] non F S
47 certare] curare C certari G
48 inimicum] inimicos F
49 et temptationes] *om.* C D in haustam F
50 nullatenus] non F *om.* G
51 viriliter] *om.* C
52 triumphatore] triumphatori C triumphatione G
53 dicitur] Iacobi primo *add.* S
54 dicit] *om.* S
55 omnium] omni G
56 exspectat] exspectet F
57 que] *om.* B
58 dimicanti] dimicandi B F
59 parat] pareat B
60 deceptionis] deceptionibus F
61 cognoscerent] cognoscerentur C
62 hoc] hec D hac F
63 temptationis genere] temptatione F
64 decipulam] disciplinam D
65 mentis] minimus curam *add.* F
66 unde] ut C
67 ut] et C
68 temptatione] temptationi G
69 est] *om.* C
70 in] *om.* B
71 fuimus] fuerimus B C sumus F S
72 induci] introduci F
73 in Pastoralibus] *om.* D
74 certamine] certamen S
75 igitur] ergo D
76 et] *om.* F
77 sed] ut *add.* F S
78 non] ut *add.* C *om.* D
79 inducamur] ducamur C
80 sicut] *om.* S
81 igne] comburi et *add.* G
82 examinari ille non orat ut igne] *om.* C
83 contingatur] tangatur F
84 ut non] ne D
85 exuratur] exuretur B
86 dices] diceres D om. F
87 inducit] ducit D F
88 ut dicitur] dicit F

89 Iacobi primo] Iacobus F
90 deum] deo B deum *add.* C
91 permissive] permissiorum C
92 quem modum] quemadmodum F quem] *om.* D
93 loquendi] *om.* C loquendo F
94 etiam] et F *om.* G
95 ego] *om.* D
96 induravi] induravitur C indurabo G indurari S
97 induravi] *om.* C
98 induravi id est] id est indurari G id est] indurari permisit *add.* C
99 dices] diceres D
100 temptasse] temptasset C
101 quod] *om.* A C F G
102 duplex] scilicet *add.* F
103 hac] temptatione *add.* F
104 hoc] hec B
105 et sibiipsis] sibiipsi C seipsis F
106 innotescant] innotescat C
107 super Psalmum] *om.* F
108 et] ut C F S
109 ut] *om.* F
110 temptari cupiebat cum dicebat] temptare cupivit dicens S
111 et taliter Abraham temptatus est] *om.* F
112 hac] *om.* C
113 neminem] nullum S
114 scilicet] *om.* D S temptationis et *add.* G
115 videlicet] scilicet G
116 carne] corde C
117 ab hoste] a diabolo F
118 et] *om.* F
119 tria] *om.* F
120 sexto] dicens *add.* S
121 supponitur] supple G S
122 hoc] *om.* B
123 supponitur tantum secundum Glossam et hoc quantum] id est ad hoc F
124 temptationem] deceptionem F
125 principes] principatus F
126 potestates] tenebrarum harum et add. F
127 etc.] *om.* F
128 temptationes] deceptiones F
129 temptatione] deceptione F
130 sed adversus principes … temptatione carnis] *om.* C carnis] ut *add.* F
131 nos] *om.* F
132 loquor] loquitur F
133 natam] innato D nature F

134 in peccato nutritam] peccato in quam D
135 vitiatam] vitiata F
136 deceptione] temptatione D
137 hostis] scilicet diaboli *add.* S
138 et idem dicit Hugo] *om.* F
139 decipere] †hominem† *add. inter lineam* D
140 aliquem] *om.* C
141 naturam] *om.* F
142 inde] in F
143 inde se] in eo C
144 unde] ubi F
145 aptum] apta F aptam G
146 hominem ad peccandum] natum D ad peccandum] *om.* A G
147 esse] *om.* F
148 deceptione] temptatione D *sed* deceptione *script. et corr. in textu*
149 in sermone] *om.* F
150 ubi] *om.* C
151 omnis] omnia B C
152 ubi periclitantur … spiritus] *om.* F
153 tribus] *om.* F omnibus *add.* G
154 simul] similiter F
155 clamat] et *add.* B
156 inficiam] deficiam G
157 temptationem] scilicet *add.* F scilicet in temptationem *add.* G
158 de qua] *om.* F
159 homines] omnes F homo S
160 magis] *om.* F
161 tres] res C in *add.* C
162 temptatores] temptationes D in temptatione F
163 enim] *om.* C ad F
164 et] ad F
165 caro] *om.* G nostra *add.* S
166 sint] sunt F
167 autem] *om.* F
168 quia mundus] *om.* F
169 deceptivus] deceptionis F
170 commoveat] moveat ad F
171 etiam] *om.* F
172 ista] *om.* S
173 omnia tria] *om.* F
174 concurrunt] occurrunt C
175 quedam] quidam B G S quidem F
176 ingerendo] que gerendo C
177 excitando] incitando F
178 species] sponsitas D spes F

179 per oculos cordis] *om.* F
180 semel] *it.* G
181 illigata] allegata D G
182 vix] *it.* C via F
183 magni] magis F
184 in] *om.* C F
185 autem] *om.* F
186 temptatorum] temptatoris F
187 quem] quis F
188 casum] casu F G
189 quod] quidem S
190 fortis] foras F
191 iudicari] iudicare F
192 est] *in marg. supra lineam* G
193 quod] *om.* A F
194 cautos reddendo] caute reddendos F
195 serpentes] etc. *add.* C
196 prudentia serpentis] prudentis a serpentis D
197 quantum] quo F
198 spectat] *om.* F
199 sic] sed F
200 ducamur] inducamur C D F G S
201 conversationis] versationis C
202 artum] *om.* C
203 et] *om.* F
204 etiam] *om.* F
205 angustum] portam *add.* F
206 preberes] predens B F
207 temptationes] temptationem C
208 et] *om.* C
209 diligit] concupiscit B
210 calori] calore F
211 sic] et *add.* C F
212 divine gratie] divivnum D gratie] *om.* A caritatis G
213 expetere] petere B exponere F
214 hoc] hic G
215 laqueus] laqueis F
216 sancti] sancte D
217 muniti] inimici C
218 sic] et *add.* C S
219 nos] nobis G
220 aliquid] *om.* F
221 in] aliquid *add.* F
222 debet] deberet C S
223 introducitur] hic *add.* C

224 istam] hanc F
225 inducas] in temptationem *add.* D F S
226 petimus] potius C
227 mitis fiat] meritis fient C
228 ne] pie F
229 quando] quandoque F
230 deo] eo C
231 superandum] superanda S
232 quod dicit] illud F
233 primi Timothei] ad Timotheum G
234 primi Timothei quarto] ad Timotheum sexto F
235 pietas autem ad omnia utilis est] *om.* B
236 inquam] inquit F
237 ad modicum utilis … exercitatio] *om.* G
238 que] qua F
239 aliquis] aliquos F
240 se] *om.* F
241 tantum] tamen F
242 carnis] valet *add.* F
243 contra] quelibet *add.* F
244 quarumlibet] quorumlibet C *om.* F
245 demonis] diaboli F S
246 dicit] *om.* S
247 Unde Petrus dicit primo Petri secundo] om. F
248 deus] dominus S
249 in] de C F G S
250 filialem] finalem G
251 et] *om.* F
252 consequenter] convenienter F S
253 ut affectum quendam … movet nos] *om.* C
254 affectu] affectioni D
255 et] *om.* F
256 et] *om.* F
257 etiam] hoc *add.* C et F
258 hic] *om.* G
259 hic de beatitudinibus] *om.* C
260 ideo convenienter … mititas] *om.* B
261 nec] non F
262 quidam] quedam A
263 scilicet] videlicet C
264 quasi victor] quem victorem F
265 divina] de vita B
266 quantum] quem F
267 in hac vita] in vacuatis D vita] nata C ut *add.* F
268 temptationum] temptationem C

269 non] pulset *add.* C
270 quassatur] conquassatur F
271 quo] hoc F S
272 istius] *om.* B F G illius S
273 quantum] quam F
274 beatitudini] beatitudine C
275 sedatis] sedat F
276 tumultibus] tumultus F
277 possidentur a deo] *om.* G
278 habitatio] id est *add.* C
279 prius] *om.* D
280 possiderit] possederit F possedit S
281 inchoatur] in presenti *add.* F
282 differunt] different vel differunt C
283 vero] autem F etiam *add.* C S
284 a] etiam G
285 de rebus illicitis quandoque] *om.* G
286 licitis … de rebus] *om.* F
287 quomodo] *om.* G
288 qua] quam F
289 duo] non *add.* F

Lectio nona

1 precedenti] precedentibus A D
2 oravimus] oramus F petivimus S
3 petitione] petitionibus A D
4 non] *om.* F
5 nos] *om.* S
6 malum] temptationem B
7 nunc] unde F vero *add.* S
8 sumus] *om.* B
9 Augustinum] in libro *add.* F
10 de] in S
11 domini] in monte *add.* F
12 et] *om.* D
13 petitione] *om.* B
14 ut] *om.* D
15 ultra] adhuc *add.* B C G S
16 quam] quod F
17 impetrata] impetrari F
18 de] in F
19 metus] *om.* F motus S
20 quis enim … tutor est] *om.* D

21 hec Cyprianus] *om.* F
22 hec] licet F
23 adversativa] conversativa G
24 coniunctio] coniunctiva F
25 sed] si F
26 aliquid] aliquod G
27 potius] *om.* D
28 id] illud C F
29 dicens] dicatur C diceret G
30 facias] faciat C
31 sed] *om.* S
32 etiam] id est B *om.* C
33 id] illud F
34 secundum] *om.* C sed D
35 et] *om.* C
36 signandum] designandum S
37 esse] *om.* C
38 a] ad F
39 premissa] premissis vel a premissa C
40 istam] hanc D S
41 scilicet] *om.* F
42 culpe] *om.* D
43 hec] ista F
44 videtur] esse *add.* F
45 culpe] eo *add.* F
46 coincideret] indiceret F
47 hec] *om.* S
48 vocantur] vocamur F dicuntur S
49 mala] male C
50 ibi] om. B ibidem S
51 hec petitio] *om.* F
52 cum] *om.* G
53 dicimus] dicitur S
54 oppositorum] suppositorum F
55 petimus] potius F
56 triplex] tripliciter D
57 oppositum] oppositi D
58 in se] *om.* C
59 inflictionem] afflictionem D
60 petitio] *om.* G
61 quare] est *add.* C
62 sed] et B etiam *add.* S
63 hec] ista F
64 precedente] illa S
65 inducas in temptationem] etc. F in temptationem] etc. D

66 exponunt] eam *add.* D
67 malo] mali D
68 scilicet] *om.* F
69 preteritis, presentibus, et futuris] preteriti, presentis et futuris C preterito, presenti, et futuro D S
70 hoc] hec B
71 est] *om.* B
72 hoc est contra Augustinum] contra hoc est Augustinum G
73 mala] *om.* S
74 sed hoc … dictum est] *om.* F
75 sed] ut F
76 que] ut B
77 que dicitur in missa] canonis F
78 istam] *om.* F G
79 triplici malo] triplicis malis S
80 presenti, preterito et futuro] preteritis, presentis et futuris C presentibus, preteritis et futuris G S
81 immediate liberari … ubi] *om.* F
82 dicitur] subditur F
83 presenti, preterito … omnibus malis] *om.* B
84 presentibus, preteritis, et futuris] *om.* G
85 etc.] *om.* B F
86 ideo] *om.* C
87 nec] *om.* F
88 ergo] autem S
89 laboramus] laboremus A liberamus C
90 quod] que C F
91 quantum] et quo F
92 quantum] quo F
93 quantum] quod C quo F
94 domini] *om.* F
95 inquit] in quo F
96 miserabiliter] miserabilium C
97 debiles] vel desides *add.* B F S
98 et] *om.* B
99 et malum] *om.* C
100 et] est *add.* F hic *add.* G
101 notandum] nota S
102 quod hoc quid] per hoc quod C hoc quid] *om.* D
103 mali non intelligitur de resistentia] *om.* D non intelligitur de resistentia] *om.* G
104 coincideret] coincidunt F
105 precedente] precedenti S
106 de resistentia] *om.* D
107 precedente sed intelligitur de resistentia qu resistimus] *reit.* C
108 involuentibus] involentes vel involentibus C

109 et] *om.* F
110 animi] anime C
111 non] *om.* D
112 nobis] *om.* C
113 sufficimus] suffecimus C possumus F
114 eis] his S
115 predicto] *om.* C
116 eis] eo F
117 exuamur] eruamur F
118 de] ab S
119 petimus sic] potius si C
120 nos] *om.* F
121 deceptionis] *om.* B S
122 defectionis] *om.* B S
123 deceptionis … deiectionis] quo decipimur in defectionibs cognoscento, quo defecimus deiectionis in operando C deiectionis] *om.* B S
124 resistendo] S *add.*: Vel potest dici et melius quod hec petitio intelligatur tam de malo culpe quam pene. Culpe inquam iam non perpetrate, quia tunc coincideret cum quinta ut supra dictum est. Sed culpe instantis possibilis perpetrari, a quo malo petimus nos liberari ne videlicet peccemus. Item de malo pene presentis. Pena enim presens qua affligamur aliquando, est satisfactiva et remeditativa de peccatis commissis vel committendis, immo est interdum stimulativa ad bonum, iuxta illud Psalmi: Multiplicate sunt infirmitates eorum postea acceleraverunt. Et tunc pena non habet rationem mali sed boni. Aliquando autem est inductiva vel impulsiva ad peccatum. Metum enim poene multa mala fiunt. Et ut sic pena habet rationem mali a quo malo petimus nos liberari, unde omnes penalitates presentis miserie sive sint adversitates seculi sive necessitates et dolores corporis sive passiones animi sive sit seductibilitas in ratione sive pronitas ad malum in concupiscibili sive difficultas ad bonum in irascibili et cetera talia, in quantum nobis proficiunt ad salutem bone sunt, quia eis exercitamur ad virtutes. In quantum vero nos abducunt et sunt nobis causa vel occasio ruine, male sunt et ut sic petimus nos ab eis liberari tam presentibus quam preteritis quam futuris. Nec obstat quod Augustinus dicit: Nos hic orare liberari a malo in quod iam inducti sumus. Nam in malum in penalitatibus presentis miserie nobis imminens iam inducti sumus causaliter a cuius mali effectuali in cursu petimus nos liberari. Et notandum quod in hac petitione non petimus simpliciter nos liberari a penis seu penalitatibus miserie presentis, quia hoc petivimus in secunda petitione cum diximus: Adveniat regnum tuum. Sed petimus quod quamdiu sumus in incolatu presentis miserie interim liberemur a talibus in quantum sunt nobis mala et saluti nostre obnoxia. Item potest accipi de malo pene future, ita quod petamus sic: nos liberari a malo presenti ut non incurramus malum pene future.
125 quidam] quedam D
126 animi] anime F
127 quo] qua F
128 negligit] *om.* C
129 ac] animi C tunc F aut G S
130 et ipse torpor causat] torportant C

131 malum] *om.* F
132 sicut] ut S
133 tepet] torpet F
134 torpet] turpet G
135 convenientiam] convenientia B
136 epistola] epistolis C
137 ita] quod *add.* C
138 torpentia] torpentis B
139 ecce malum deceptionis] *om.* F
140 Bernardus] ubi *add.* S
141 supra] *om.* C F
142 animi] anime G
143 bona] *om.* D G
144 inchoare] *om.* F
145 defectionis] deceptionis F
146 septuagesimo secundo] quinto decimo D *om.* F
147 desidiosa] desidioso F S
148 torqueri] torquere G
149 supplicii] sublimi F
150 primum … quantum ad] *om.* C
151 meditationes sollicite non sentiuntur] *om.* C sentiuntur] sentit G
152 et] idem *add.* G
153 homelia] moralibus F
154 de] *om.* G
155 est quod] *om.* G
156 petimus] nos *add.* G
157 temporantie] temporantia F
158 cuius] conditio *add.* G
159 moralibus] *om.* F
160 in medio] *om.* F medio] mediis C
161 dicit] proverbialiter *add.* G
162 tres] *om.* C
163 ceteras] ceteris D
164 hominem] *om.* S
165 contra] totum C
166 quo laborat] in quo anxie laborat G laborat] laboramus S
167 austeritas] iustitia C
168 afficitur] efficitur C
169 moderamen] immoderamen C
170 quantum] quo F
171 austeritas] castitas C
172 secundum Andronicum] *om.* F
173 excludit] includit C
174 contra] secundum *add.* B F S
175 quo] quod G

176 contra malum quo desides] contra secundum quo ad fides C
177 quantum] quo F
178 hanc] *om.* C
179 omnes] planetes *add.* G
180 aliquis] est *add.* C quis S
181 existunt] et infeste sunt G
182 discipulorum] *om.* D
183 ut] et F
184 quod] quia G
185 tres] *om.* G
186 convenienter] *om.* D
187 dicitur introduci] debet induci F
188 timor] *om.* D
189 quia] *om.* S
190 summa] summam G
191 liberamur] liberemur F
192 quinto decimo] quinto F
193 a malo] *om.* S
194 primo] undetricesimo B
195 Ecclesiastici primo … Ecclesiastici undevicesimo] *om.* S immo … Ecclesiastici undevicesimo] *om.* F
196 a] *om.* F
197 a secundo] ad secundum C
198 quia] liberamur per timorem dicente Salomone Proverbiorum quarto decimo G
199 timore] inquit *add.* G
200 ne] ut C
201 Proverbiorum quartodecimo] *om.* F G
202 unde] nam G et S
203 secundum Gregorium] Gregorius F
204 timor debilitatem ita in via] *om.* D
205 dei] domini F
206 dei] domini S
207 eum] et nichil de est timentibus eum *add.* G
208 ullis] illis F
209 adversis] adversari F
210 deiciantur] adiciantur C
211 et] *om.* G
212 deiciantur et hec tria et plura alia] *om.* F alia] originaliter *add.* G
213 de] in F
214 dono] procedentia *add.* G
215 comprehendit] deprehendit F
216 institutis] institutione F
217 monachorum] seu patrum *add.* G
218 principium] contra primum C inquit *add.* G
219 sapientieque] sapientie quia D *om.* F

220 secundum scripturas] sedes G
221 de] nam de F
222 cordis] *om.* F
223 voluptatis] voluptate C voluptatum S
224 voluptate mortificationis] mortificatione voluptatis G
225 fructificant] sanctificant D
226 atque] ac G
227 atque succrescunt] *om.* F
228 puritatem] puritate G
229 apostolice caritatis perfectio] apostolica caritas profecto F
230 vetus] sive antiqua *add.* F
231 vetus est beati Anthonii sententia] hec ille G
232 hic] *om.* C
233 sicut] ut S
234 dicit] *om.* F
235 Glossa] super Mattheum *add.* G
236 primo ut] prout F
237 dicantur] dicamur S
238 id est] *om.* C
239 per devotionem gratie] *om.* D
240 modo sic] autem F
241 sui] sine D *om.* F
242 secundum] quod *add.* C D G sed quod F
243 Glossa] *om.* F
244 interlinearis] in celis G
245 spiritu pauperes] paupertas seu pauperes spiritu F
246 sui opinione vel reputatione … id est] *om.* B id est] *om.* F
247 inflatu] inflati B D G sunt inflati F
248 non] multum *add.* F
249 sicut] sententia F
250 de se non … de se nichil] *om.* G
251 deo] domino D
252 pauperes] spiritu *add.* S
253 habiles] debiles F
254 unde dicit] teste G
255 septuagesimo sexto] *om.* S
256 omnis] inquit *add.* G
257 philosophie magistra] prophetie in gratia G
258 nobis] non D
259 inopia] copia F
260 philosophis] prophetis G
261 qui] quod B C F S
262 liberius] liberetis A
263 possent] *om.* B C F G S
264 vacari] vacaverant B vacarent C F G S

265 ut] patet *add.* G *om.* S
266 Socrate] et *add.* F S
267 stabiles] debiles F
268 unde] ut F
269 et ideo dicitur] quare G dicitur] dicit C
270 vicesimo quinto] quinquagesimo quinto F
271 deficiat] deficiant G
272 ut] unde F
273 unde] quod F
274 malis] malo S
275 paupere] pauperi F
276 sermones meos] sermonem meum F
277 competentia] temporantia C convenientia S
278 sunt] *om.* A
279 propter quod] preterea G
280 primam] premissam F
281 istam] *om.* F
282 paupertatis] paupertas spiritu S
283 prima] loco primo F
284 ipse] *om.* F ipsa G
285 procedit] perducit animos F
286 minus] *om.* F
287 digniores] digniora F G
288 quoniam] autem F
289 istius sanctissime orationis] *om.* G sanctissime orationis] sanctissimi ordinis F
290 perfecta] perfectas B C S perfectus F
291 observatur] habeatur G
292 que est] *it.* C
293 persecutiones] persecutionem S
294 hic] hec D G
295 hic nulli] hec nulle F
296 petitioni] hic *add.* C
297 ipsa] *om.* G
298 et] in B F
299 spiritu] quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum *add.* F
300 de] omnibus *add.* G
301 Et secundum … ab aliis] *om.* F
302 sed] si F etiam *add.* G
303 complectitur] plectitur C complectit F
304 patitur] autem *add.* B D namque *add.* G
305 aliquis] quis F
306 aut] *om.* B
307 aut ab alio si a se] *om.* C
308 voluntarie] voluntate F
309 inferenda] inferendo B D G

310 que] sibi *add.* G
311 aut inferenda que displicent] *om.* F
312 quidem] quidam D
313 aut] *om.* F *add. supra lineam* G
314 sibi] etiam F
315 aliis] proximo F sunt *add.* S
316 misericordiam] aut *add.* F
317 patitur] patiatur S
318 intra] in vita D
319 tunc] enim *add.* F
320 inferentis] ferentis C inferentia F
321 necessaria] *om.* D
322 non] *add. supra lineam* G
323 respectu] *om.* F
324 sustinentis] necessaria est *add.* G
325 iustitie] illius G
326 probari] propriari B
327 tunc] *om.* F
328 inferentem] finem G
329 pax] *om.* F
330 quantum] quo F vero *add.* G
331 sustinentem] requiritur *add.* G
332 inficiatur] iustificatur C
333 quomodo] quoniam F
334 primo] premio F
335 quod] que F
336 et] *om.* D ad F
337 premiis] *om.* F
338 autem] *om.* F
339 ultimam] *om.* F
340 petitionem] ipsa *add.* G
341 cuius] proprium *add.* G
342 dona] et *add.* B F S
343 et] ac F
344 perutile] quare utile D
345 earum] eorum S
346 hic] *om.* C
347 perutile est … subnectere] *om.* G subnectere] subnectare B
348 autem] ergo B C F G
349 animam] rationalem *add.* G
350 perficiendam] perficientiam C *om.* F
351 enim] *om.* G
352 quoddam] quidam D quamdam F
353 et] etiam C
354 potentiam] anime *add.* G

355 sed differenter … potentiam] *om.* G
356 sed differenter quia perficit potentiam purgando] *om.* F
357 et] *om.* F
358 sive] sub F
359 si] sive C
360 sit virtus acquisita sive supernaturaliter si] *om.* G
361 donum] dona F
362 autem] per se *add.* G
363 purgat] purgant F
364 prompte] proppe C pronos F
365 hominem] enim F *om.* C G
366 beatitudo] consentiendo F
367 et sic quando] sicut F
368 quarto] octavo F
369 doni et sic … est operatio] *om.* G
370 perfecte] perfecto C
371 perfecta] autem *add.* G
372 appellatur] operatur F
373 dicunt] ducunt F
374 alios] alienos F
375 earum] eorum F
376 perfectionis] perfectiones C
377 fructus] dicuntur *add.* D
378 quidam] quidem B
379 appellantur] *om.* D
380 dicitur] datur F
381 enim] etiam S
382 perfectio iam puragti] pro se ipso non repugnat C
383 quatuor] *om.* F
384 sunt] a natura *add.* F
385 purgatoria] *om.* C purgationes S
386 alia autem quatuor predicta sunt purgatoria animi] *om.* D
387 status] *om.* C
388 facit] fecit C
389 eternam beatitudinem] eterna beatitudine C
390 evolare in eternam … beatitudinis] *om.* F
391 etiam] autem F
392 sit] sint F G
393 nomen] nomine F
394 coincidentia] et *add.* G S
395 differant] differunt F
396 ibidem] ibi idem F
397 locis] etc. *add.* F

Lectio decima

1 optatur] adoptatur D
2 adimpletio] impletio F
3 neque] est *add.* D
4 Greca] in Greco lingua G
5 est] *om.* C D
6 Latina] *it.* C in Latino G
7 sed] in *add.* G
8 Hebraica] est *add.* F
9 nominaliter] naturaliter C
10 ut] in *add.* B est in *add.* F
11 tertio] *om.* F
12 hec] hoc S
13 hec dicit Amen id est veritas] ubi sit legitur Et angelo loadicie ecclesie scribere hic dicit Amen testis fidelis et verus qui est principium creature dei G
14 quandoque] ponitur *add.* G
15 dicitur] *om.* C G S
16 ubicumque in Psalmis] ibi in psalmis ubicumque dicitur G Psalmis] dicitur *add.* C
17 fiat] tunc *add.* G
18 ut hic] *om.* G
19 autem] *om.* D ponitur *add.* G
20 dicitur] *om.* G
21 vere] certe S
22 Amen] inquit *add.* G
23 fine] orationis dominice *add.* G
24 constat] confert C
25 scriptum] esse in *add.* F
26 quod] in *add.* C
27 quod aquila] aliquando F
28 est] *om.* D
29 dicere] G *add.*: vel subintellectu planiori. Brito sic dicit: Amen, inquit, est certum partium. Quando ponitur pro 'fideli' ut in Apocalypsis tertio, tunc est nomen. Quandoque ponitur pro 'certe' ut ibi: Amen, Amen dico vobis etc., tunc est adverbium. Quandoque ponitur pro 'fiat' ut ibi: Libera nos a malo amen, id est, fiat, tunc est verbum, unde versus: Amen pro vere duo sunt adverbia vere Amen pro 'fiat' sic verbum deficiens est. Amen pro nomen tunc est indeclinabile nomen. Item sciendum quod solus Iohannes evangelista ubique in suo evangelio geminat 'Amen, Amen'; alii evangeliste tantum semel proferunt. Et hoc quadruplici ratione prima est quid Iohannes preceteris de pectore dominico intimius et copiosius veritatem biberat, et ideo expressius affirmabat tamquam alior cognitor veritatis. Secunda quia contra hereticos suum scripsit evangelium, qui heretici spiritum sanctum ab utroque procedere negabant. Ideo ob maiorem credulitatem affirmantionis signum duplicabat. Tertia quia ultimus scripsit evangelium. Ideo quod ceteri evangeliste simpliciter asserebant, ipse dupliciter confirmabat suppleus quod alii obmiserunt. Quartum quia de altissimis rebus evangelium suum initians videlicet in principio erat verbum

etc. Ideo maiori indiguit probationi. Cetere autem evangeliste de incarnatione, de resurrectione, de ascensione scripserunt ymmo manibus propriis contrectaverunt et beatis oculis conspexerunt. Quinta ratio est magistri in Historiis ut scilicet per geminationem connotetur duplex veritas videlicet cordis et oris, ut sic nec victus in corde nec fallax in ore ipse non reperiatur.

30 hec] *om.* C
31 recolligit] nam recolligit D
32 impetrat] nam impretrat D
33 concludat] concludit F primo concludat G
34 quidem] quidam D
35 quia] quod C
36 signaculum] dominice *add.* F
37 unde] ut F
38 concluditur] clauditur F
39 recolligit] secundo recolligit G
40 etiam] secundum Hieronimum *add.* S *om.* G
41 nam quando] cum enim G
42 fertur] vertitur F refertur G
43 pertransitum] pertransitio facta F
44 id] illud F S
45 impetrat nichilominus] tertio impetrat G
46 enim] namque G
47 nota] nomen S
48 unde] ut C G
49 dicit Rabanus] *om.* F
50 hoc] *om.* B inquit *add.* G
51 quod] *add. supra lineam* G
52 dixerat] dixerit F dixit C S
53 signat] signatur G
54 indubitanter] indubitabiliter F
55 illis] illud F
56 debitoribus] *add. in marg.* G
57 nostris] etc. *add.* G
58 supra] *om.* C
59 huius] istius F
60 istius] huius G
61 Augustinus] in epistola *add.* G
62 sanctarum] vestrorum D
63 verba] illa F
64 nichil] nec S
65 contineatur] occurratur F
66 nichil] nil D vel F
67 positum] posita D
68 clarificare] clarificari C
69 quam] *om.* F

70 qui] quod F
71 dicit] cum propheta *add.* G
72 ostende] nobis domine *add.* F nobis *add.* G S
73 quam] *add. supra lineam* G
74 qui] quod F
75 dicit] cum eodem propheta *add.* G
76 qui] quod F
77 dicit] cum sapiente *add.* G
78 divitias et paupertates] paupertatem et divitias C paupertates] paupertatem B F G S
79 dederis] des C
80 michi] etc. *add.* G
81 dicit] *om.* B
82 quam] *om.* F
83 da nobis hodie] etc. F
84 qui] quod F
85 domine] *om.* D
86 domine David et omnis mansuetudinis eius] *om.* F
87 michi] *om.* G
88 malum] mala B F G S
89 sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris] *om.* F
90 qui] quod F
91 concupiscentias] concupiscentiam F
92 in temptationem] etc. F
93 qui] quod F
94 erue] eripe F
95 ab] de C F G S
96 meis] *om.* B
97 meus] *om.* S
98 quam] *om.* D
99 Augustinus] ibidem *add.* G
100 quisquis] quisque S
101 id] aliud B aliquid F *om.* G illud S
102 meos] meas A G
103 et] qui *add.* F
104 dicit] dicens G
105 concupiscentias] concupiscentiam F S
106 id] enim F
107 secundum] *om.* F
108 deum] offendit nec *add.* F
109 puto] non puto D G
110 eum] enim non F non *add.* S
111 aptare] aptari F hec Augustinus *add.* G optare S
112 libro de] *om.* C
113 nostram] necessariam F
114 salutari] salutare A

115 etiam] et F
116 dicit] Iohannes *add.* G
117 omnem] *om.* F
118 paucos] paucis A C S
119 transcendens] transcendit G
120 nullo necdum] non nec G
121 sono vocis] sit notis D
122 distinguitur] destringimur F
123 mens] in *add.* F
124 celestis] cecitatis D
125 copiossisimo] ludicissimo F
126 eructuat] eructat C
127 atque ineffabiliter eructuat ad deum] *om.* G
128 tantum] tanta B C F
129 brevissimo] *om.* C
130 quanta] qua F
131 facile] facilime F est *add.* G
132 semetipsum] semetipsam D semetipsa F
133 prevaleat] hec ille *add.* G talem orationem digne promerere nobis concedat deus benedictus qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum, Amen *add.* S

Expositio arboris

1 ut] est F
2 exclusio] conclusio F
3 donorum] et *add.* B F
4 et fructuum] *om.* F
5 secundum] sibi B
6 occultatim] occultim G enucliatim S
7 etiam] que F
8 et] singulis *add.* S
9 hec] *om.* F
10 illa] ista C
11 quarto] octavo F
12 contingens] attingens D
13 terminum] terminos S
14 et] *om.* G
15 et] *om.* G
16 pulcherrima et fructus eius] *om.* C
17 subter] supra F
18 conversabant] conservabant F
19 celi] etc. *add.* F
20 ex] ab S
21 domini] dominico G

22 utpote] ut pute F
23 ipsa] *om.* F
24 in] ab F
25 ipsa] ipso A D
26 etiam] *om.* B G
27 radicata] indicata G
28 hec] *om.* S
29 in] medio *add.* G
30 est] *om.* A D
31 medium est hominis] medium virtutis ipsius hominis est G
32 nempe] et nempe S
33 et] *om.* D
34 versetur] versatur F
35 nisi et intentio versetur in corde] *om.* C
36 prime] *om.* A D
37 psallam] *om.* G
38 quia] et C
39 ipsa] ipsam S
40 sursam] *om.* F
41 ad] in S
42 celum] celestia G
43 facit] cum ipsa sit ascensus in deum *add.* G
44 ad quod designandum] illudque designandum quod F
45 pater] *om.* F
46 pater celestis et] posite sunt S
47 celi] *om.* S
48 per] *om.* G
49 per hoc] *om.* C
50 quidem] siquidem G
51 stellatis] stellas F
52 orationis] dominice *add.* F
53 describuntur] intelliguntur F
54 quedam] *om.* F
55 videlicet] scilicet G
56 mente] mentis C
57 excitantes] existentes F
58 supra] super F S
59 arbor] illa *add.* S
60 huius] illius S
61 ab ipso] ad ipsam F ipso] ipsa D
62 tota] totaliter S
63 dirigitur] *om.* F
64 accipiatur] accipitur S
65 hic] ly *add.* S
66 aspectibus] aspectus F

67 terre] pertingit *add.* G
68 quia] et S
69 videri] videtur S
70 et] *om.* C F
71 intelligi] intelligitur S
72 seu adipisci] *om.* D
73 ipsa] ipse F
74 compendiositatis] copiositatis G
75 homo] fuerit *add.* F
76 quantumcumque] etiam *add.* B C F
77 rudis] rudus esse possit F quomodo S
78 eam] ea D
79 possit] potest F
80 discere] docere F
81 etiam] *om.* G
82 cum] inquit *add.* G
83 dominus] deus noster C
84 omni] cum
85 atque] et F
86 addiderit] et didicit C ediderit F
87 suorum] *om.* S
88 grande] generale F
89 fecit] facit G
90 discentium] dicentium F
91 laboraret] laberetur F
92 esset] eadem F
93 simplici] simplicitati S
94 fidei] *om.* G
95 huius] eius G
96 seu] sive C
97 eas] *om.* C
98 collocavi] collocavit G
99 signat] significat S
100 septem] *om.* C
101 sanctissime] *om.* G
102 et] etiam G S
103 etiam] et S
104 singulas] in singulis F
105 dimembratas] demembratos F
106 divisionem et] *om.* D
107 etiam] et G
108 ex primis exordialibus] in primis ordialibus F
109 velut ex] *om.* S
110 opposita] posita ex F
111 rami] *om.* G

112 illorum] *om.* F
113 illam] istam C
114 et ex opposita … excluduntur] *om.* S
115 distanter] distant F
116 illud] id est F
117 representantis] reputatur F
118 ad] *om.* F
119 propellendam] propellandam C procellendam F
120 collocatus] collocatam S
121 in] *om.* F
122 videlicet] ut B
123 theologica] theologicis F theologicalis S
124 consequenter posite] consequentes G posite] posse F
125 protendit] precedit D vel *add.* F pretendit S
126 ad] in S
127 quomodolibet] quamlibet F quolibet G
128 hoc attento] hec attente F attento] attendendo diligenter G
129 quod] *om.* C
130 ubicumque videris] folium *add.* C D unicuique veridi folium F
131 aliquid] aliquo F aliquod D S
132 vel] et F
133 in] ex F
134 exinde] *om.* S
135 procedentia ab illa] procedent ab alia F
136 folio] ramo S
137 inscribitur] scribuntur C
138 vel] ut B F
139 subiective] subiecte S
140 sive] seu
141 etiam] *om.* C D F G
142 integrales] intelligales F
143 virtutes] ipsis *add.* C
144 foliis] filie G
145 sicut] illa S
146 arboris decorationem] eam decorandam S
147 nichilominus] ut F
148 operum] *om.* C
149 temptationum] temptatione C
150 et caninatibus] *om.* F S
151 defendunt] defendant F
152 dicitur] et *add.* F in textu *add.* G
153 singulo] singulis F
154 ponuntur] ponantur D
155 spiritus] species F
156 enumerat] enumeraverit C

157 ad] *om.* A
158 et describuntur hii fructus] qui fructus describuntur G
159 quilibet] *om.* S
160 fructuum] *om.* C
161 videtur] *om.* F
162 convenientius] conveniens est F
163 intelligendum] attendendum S
164 subditur] dicitur C
165 qui] que C
166 pregustatio illius supremi] predestinatio illius summi F
167 patris] gestatur et *add.* G
168 consequendum] consequens F
169 hec] hoc A
170 principaliter] dominicalis G principalis S
171 et] *om.* F S
172 et] quasi B C F S
173 immaturi] maturi F
174 velut] *om.* G
175 significant] signant F G S
176 que] qui S
177 quidam] quasi S
178 sancti] *om.* D
179 neque] nec S
180 ad hoc] adhuc B C F G S
181 quarum] quorum G
182 quelibet] quilibet F
183 petitionem] petitio A beatitudinem S
184 oratione] petitione F
185 et] etiam C F S
186 inveniunt] invenient D
187 subditur] subicitur A C D sequitur G
188 quia] in quo innuitur quod G
189 et] vel S
190 existat] ipse *add.* G
191 poterit] potest S
192 sive] sit *add.* G
193 peccator] sive *add.* F G
194 sive idiota] *om.* B
195 incipiens] et *add.* F
196 sive] seu G
197 unde] propter quod G
198 dominus] deus F
199 noster] Ihesus Christus *add.* G
200 paucis] panes F
201 res] *om.* F

202 multiplices] multiplicans F
203 necessarias] necessaries B
204 prudentia ingeniosorum] prudentiam ingeniosioris S
205 stupesceret] stupebit S
206 est] *om.* F
207 quasi] *om.* G
208 peditat] predicat D peditas F
209 elephas] elephans B G
210 natat] et *add.* F
211 sacra] *om.* F
212 scriptura] satis *add.* F
213 unde hec oratio … Gregorius] *om.* C S
214 hinc Isaie] idem tangit Isaias dicens G
215 inquit] *om.* G
216 abbreviatum] abbreviatam D
217 dominus] deus S
218 verbis] verbum F *om.* G
219 memoriter] a quolibet retineri, memoriter et G
220 spiritus sancti] ipsum *add.* G *om.* S
221 possit] valeat S
222 subditur] subnectitur G
223 sive] seu ad G
224 suggestiones] mundanas aut dyabolicas *add.* G
225 ab] sub F
226 et plurumque … fructu deicitur] *om.* G
227 et plerumque … et frustratur] *om.* S
228 que] quod F
229 tamen] cum S
230 orantis dona cum] orantem devotioni D orantis] orationis F dona cum] conatum C G
231 dona cum virtute] conatum S dona cum] conatum B F
232 sanctissime] sacratissime G
233 et excluduntur] *om.* G
234 pedibus] uti bestie *add.* G
235 penitus] *om.* G
236 et] *om.* G
237 signanter] *om.* F
238 in] *om.* F
239 huiusmodi] huius B C
240 bestias] bestiis F
241 sed potius] et postea F
242 utpote] ut G
243 quo] quod que F que C D G S
244 cui] cuilibet C
245 tactum] actum G
246 indignatur] dedignatur F

247 ac per hoc] atque S ac] et F
248 sic] etiam *add.* C ut D
249 versus] unde versus D G *om.* F
250 et quia … est depictus] *om.* F
251 Luter] lupus F
252 quo] qua F
253 unde] *om.* B C D F S
254 versus] *om.* F
255 Luter] lupus F
256 et] *om.* F
257 designatur] *om.* B C signatur S
258 quia] unde versus *add.* C versus S
259 socium quem diligit, odit] etc. C
260 invidi dente] invidente F
261 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* C D S
262 more] ore B
263 invidus] invidens G
264 signatur] designatur F G
265 in quo gula signatur quia Ursus] qui S
266 ut dicit Aristoteles] secundum Aristotelem C
267 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* C D S
268 est] *om.* C
269 vorax] verax F forax S
270 aut Hyricius] *om.* C F G aut] vel S
271 quo] qua F
272 quia] Hericius *add.* G
273 persentit] sentit F
274 recolligit] colligit B
275 versus] unde versus B G *om.* F
276 sevis] sevit S
277 stulte] stulto G
278 sus] seu siroffa *add.* G
279 quo] qua F G
280 est] *om.* C notatur F
281 ex] *om.* G
282 ceno] sceno F
283 ceno et] *om.* G
284 ingurgitat] ingurticat F
285 fetidis] fetosis F
286 versus] *om.* F unde versus G
287 luxosus] lutosus F luxuriosus S
288 spurco] spurca F
289 septima] bestia *add.* F G S
290 quo] qua G
291 in quo designatur] id est S designatur] *om.* B C

292 pigrum] piger F
293 versus] *om.* F unde versus G
294 ut] om. B F S
295 et pigrum Versus est: ut asellus iners] *om.* D
296 omnisque] omni F omnis S
297 boni] bono F
298 pigri] piger B F
299 quibus] et cuilibet F
300 vitia] folio F
301 deformationem] deformitatem D S
302 contingente] attingente F
303 inscribitur] unum *add.* G
304 insignantur] signantur C designantur S
305 gerens] gerentis F
306 glorificationem] gloriationem C S (*cod.* golriationem)
307 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* B D S
308 extollit] extollitur S
309 plana] pluma S
310 furata] futura F
311 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* B D S
312 que] qui C
313 ut] et S
314 servat] celat B C F G S
315 invidie] residet *add.* F sedet *add.* S
316 qui] que F S
317 avis] *om.* S
318 in] *om.* B
319 etiam] *om.* F S
320 nec] ipsos *add.* G
321 unde] *om.* B C D S
322 cum impinguantur … unde versus] *om.* F
323 vulturus] vulturis est B vultur F vulturis S
324 sedet] residet C
325 qui] que F
326 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* B C D S
327 nimiis] numeris F
328 gluto] luto G
329 quiescis] quiescit F
330 ire] residet *add.* F G sedet *add.* S
331 Pica] *it.* A
332 avis] *om.* S
333 unde] *om.* B C D S
334 sedet] residet vel sedet G
335 qui est] *om.* S
336 libidinosa] luxuriosa S

337 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* B C D S
338 ut] *om.* F
339 ut] *om.* C
340 ut] quando C
341 enim] mox *add.* G
342 incipit] incipiat F
343 statim] *om.* G
344 ut alatur … luxuriari] *om.* S
345 ramo] in ramo C D G S
346 vero] *om.* C G
347 insidet] residet G
348 que] qui C G
349 noctua] victua F
350 enim] quedam S
351 quidem] *om.* G S
352 et] ac G
353 commorans] semper morans F
354 volant in circuitu eius et deplumant ipsum] *om.* S ipsum] et *add.* C ipsam D F
355 de] *om.* D F G S
356 unde versus] *om.* F unde] *om.* B C D
357 strato] impulstrato C pulstro S
358 vitiosis] *om.* S
359 est quod subicitur] est illud quod subditur S subicitur] subditur G
360 conversantur] conversa B conversabantur F
361 dona] donum F
362 tenentes] tenente D
363 suos] suas F
364 flores] singulos *add.* S
365 dona] *om.* G
366 spiritus sancti] spiritui sancto G
367 spiritus sancti] *om.* D
368 illarum] istarum D G illorum S
369 septem] *om.* F
370 quod] et F
371 coaptatur] etc. *add.* F
372 itaque] igitur S
373 concedat] *om.* S
374 sapientissimus] sapientibus D
375 unus] *om.* C
376 cum patre … secula seculorum] meritum sit benedictus G secula seculorum] prestare dignetur *add.* S
377 explicit expositio … auditorum] Explicit expositio orationis dominice, edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per fratrem Iordanum Quedlingenburg, ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno domini 1327, cum Mattheum ordinarie lectitaret, qui etiam ad maiorem utilitatem hanc lecturam secundum numerum decalogi decem lectionibus contentam compen-

diose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsatus instantibus auditorum, deo gratias C Explicit expositio orationis dominice edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per fratrem Jordanum de Quetlinburg ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini anno domini M CCC XXVII cum Matheum ordinarie lectaret qui etiam ad maiorem utilitatem hanc lecturam decem lectionibus contentam compendiose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsatus instantiis auditorum etc. D explicit ista expositio illius sanctissime dominice orationis, sub anno domini M CCC xlviii, tertio nonas mensis Januarii B explicit expositio orationis dominice edita per eximium doctorem Jordanum sacre Theologie professorem et cetera. Scripta et completa per me Balthazar Abbatem in Czenua, Anno et cetera quinquagesimo quarto, die vero vicesimo quarto mensis Septembris, etc. F *om.* G S

Notes on the Work

Lecture 1

1 Greg.M sacr. 4,83 (*PL* 78, col. 28C); cf. *CCC* 4,2,2,1, which does not mention Gregory, though places the 'preface' in context. Cf. "Sed et proferens: 'Pater noster' etc. iterum sicut prius extendit ac sursum eleuat manus. Primo enim dicens: 'Preceptis salutaribus' etc., actus Ioseph de quibus in precedenti columpna dictum est, quos preceptis salutaribus monitus et diuina institutione formatus gessit, representauit; quia igitur doctrina audiendo, meditando et in quiete discenda est. Ideo uerba illa depositis super altare manibus protulit." Durandus, *Rat.* IV,47,1 (504,20–21,25).

2 Cf.: "Oraturus ergo et ostensurus se causam suam agere coram Deo et que cotidie petere debeamus monet populum orare dicens: 'Pater noster' etc., que oratio habetur Mt. vi c. Fiducialiter enim orare possumus ut filii patrem quos ipse Dominus ad sic orandum informauit, et ipse uice universalis Ecclesie quam representat orat; ne tamen sua auctoritate et quasi presumptiue petere uideatur, premittit quasi loco prefactionis 'Preceptis salutaribus' etc. Dicit autem 'preceptis' et 'diuina institutione', quia Dominus et hanc orationem instituit et apostolos sic orare precepit; et ex tunc maxime prostrati orare debemus usque in finem dominice orationis, saltem in profestis diebus, in festiuis uero stantes." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 47,3 (505,42–53).

3 Cypr. *domin. orat.* 28 (*CCSL* 3A.107,519–524)

4 Jordan here refers to proof texts given below, as he does on a couple more occasions shortly here below. In Lecture 10, after treating the *Amen*, Jordan does give a series of texts, from Augustine, and then one from Cyprian and one from Cassian. The texts given though are hardly proof texts as such and do not offer much more than he gave here. In some ways it seems that Jordan had greater expectations for what he might do than what he ended up doing.

5 Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.* 14 (*PG* 56, col. 714)

6 Cypr. *domin. orat.* 3 (*CCSL* 3A.91,33–35); cf. Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103a).

7 This reference has not been found but it could refer to a prayer composed by Aegidius Romanus. Agostino Trapè notes that in a fourteenth-century manuscript of Aegidius' *Anima Christi* is the note: "Hanc orationem Aegidius magnus composuit et Dominus Johannes papa XXII ipsam centum dierum indulgentiis ditavit." See Agostino Trapè, "Scuola Teologica e Spiritualia nell'ordine Agostiniano," in *Sanctus Augustinus Vitae Spiritualis Magister*. 2 Vols. (Rome, 1959), 2:5–75; 36, n. 102.

8 Cf.: "Illud autem notandum est quod hec oratio ceteras orationes propter quatuor antecellit, scilicet auctoritate doctoris, breuitate sermonis, sufficientia petitionum et fecunditate misteriorum." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 47, 4 (506,68–70).

9 Hen. *Exp.* fol. 182r: "Sciendum quod hec oratio dominica super omnes orationes triplicem habet excellentiam singularem. Prima est quod licet in verbis sit brevissima est, tamen omnium contentiva que ad salutem pertinet, ut dicit Cyprianus. Quod etiam patet ex hoc quia continet omnem affectum necessarium ad salutem, ut infra videbitur. Secunda est quia pre omnibus aliis orationibus est magis exaudibilis et impetrativa, quia secundum Chrysostomum, illam orationem pater libenter exaudit quam ipse filius dictavit, qui

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2015 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004282803_016

est virtus et sapientia dei patris. Tertia est mentis summe inflamativa."; cf. Thom.Aq. *Sup.Matth*. ad 6,9 (90b).

10 Cf. Cassian. *coll.pat*. 9 (*PL* 49, col. 788*sq*)

11 See note 2 above. Jordan does in Lecture 10 give a not insignificant passage from Cassian that supports his comments here. Why, though, he left it for the end is unclear.

12 Aug. *enchir*. 19,71 (PL 40, col. 265; CCSL 48.88,9–19); cf. Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,8,29 (*PL* 34, col. 1282; *CCSL* 35.118,625*sqq*); Lombardus 4 *Sent*. dist. 16. cap. 1 (336–337); *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:12 (IV,25B)

13 Cf. Cypr. domin.orat. 2 (*CCSL* 3A.90,13*sq*); "Dominus et Salvator noster Jesus Christus, inter caetera salutaria praecepta, discipulis suis petentibus quemadmodum orare deberent eam formam eis orationis concessit …" *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* 36 (*PL* 74, col. 1091D).

14 The Latin here for 'heartfelt desires' is *affectus*, which is virtually impossible to translate into English accurately. Often *affectus* is translated as 'emotion', which is not quite it, for our understanding of 'emotions' is more closely related to the Latin *passiones*, the 'passions'. *Affectus* is more 'anthropological' than 'emotions', related to the condition of our soul, related to our heart; 'heartfelt desire' gets at the meaning better, I hope, than 'emotion' or 'affection', as I translated it above. 'Affection' approximates *affectus*, though not in the common connotations of 'being affectionate'; when though one might say, "I have a real affection for him/her", that is beginning to come within the realm of *affectus*.

15 *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:9 (IV,25A)

16 Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (*PL* 33, col. 65,1–22; *CSEL* 44.65,1–2)

17 See notes 2 and 9 above. The longest text Jordan includes in Lecture 10 after the *Amen* is the one from Augustine which does support his comments here.

18 Dignitas … tertia: This is an 'Aristotelian' prologue; see Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA, 1988).

19 *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:9 (IV,25A)

20 Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,4,15 (*PL* 34, col. 1275–1276; *CCSL* 35.105,314–317)

21 Gal. 4:6

22 Cf. Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Math. 6:9 (103a); "O quanta fiducia et fiducialis audacia, quod factura factorem, creatura creatorem, homo Deum Patrem audeat nuncupare! Quis unquam ausus est in veteri Lege talia praesumere? Nemo utique. Quia secundum Glossam, Deus antiquis ut servis dicebatur Dominus, nunc dicitur Pater, cui non timore, sed amore servimus. Unde et Augustinus: Nunquam invenitur praeceptum populo Israel ut diceret *Pater noster*, sed est eis insinuatus tanquam Dominus servis. Nos vero per sanguinem Domini Jesu filii adoptionis effecti, confidenter clamamus: *Abba Pater*." Ludolph.*VC* 1,37 (169a). A comparison with Thomas's text clearly shows that Ludolph was 'cutting and pasting' directly from Jordan. While Jordan most likely took his quotation of Augustine from Thomas, rather than directly from Augustine himself, as Thomas cites the same text, Jordan's exlamation, *O quanta fiducia et fiducialis audacia*, as much of this passage, is not in Thomas; cf. *CCC* 4,2,2,2. Jordan's text here may have been the source for Gabriel Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio*: cf.: "Istud autem initium capit a dei benevolentia et pietate, quia dicitur: Pater noster. Cuius ratio est, quia habitudo hominum veteris testamenti ad deum erat ut servorum ad dominum; illius enim temporis homines servierunt domino magis timore quam amore, quod proprie est servorum. Unde et lex illa lex timoris ab apostolo est vocata. In novo autem testamento est habitudo fidelium ad deum ut filiorum ad patrem;

per christi enim incarnationem tantum deus humano generi condescendere dignatus est, ut eos per adoptionis gratiam filios suos constitueret. Unde et dixit apostolis christus: Iam non dicam vos servos, sed amicos et domesticos dei. Hinc et apostolus legem novam legem libertatis appellavit et amoris. et de his loquitur Augustinus, li. ii, De Sermone Domini in Monte: multa inquit, dicta sunt in laudem dei que per omnes sanctas scripturas varie lateque diffusa, poterit quisque considerare cum legit: Nusquam tamen invenitur preceptum populo israel, ut ad deum diceret: pater nost, aut oraret patrem deum. Sed ipse eis dominus deus insinuatus est tanquam servientibus, id est secundum carnem adhuc viventibus. Sed populo novi testamenti qui vocatur ad eternam hereditatem, ut sit christi coheres, et in adoptionem filiorum israel, venit non suis meritis, sed gratia dei, preceptum est ut eandum ipsam gratiam adoptionis ponat in principio orationis et dicat: Pater noster qui es in celis." Biel, *CME* lect. 64 (3.60). On Biel's use of Jordan, see E.L. Saak, "De tekstualiteit van laatmiddeleeuwse pastorale literatuur. Een *case study* van Jordanus van Quedlinburg, o.e.s.a., en Gabriel Biel," forthcoming in the Festschrift for Pater Martijn Schrama, OSA, ed. Brian Heffernan and Jos van Neer. Biel's use of Jordan, whom Biel never cites by name, gives further evidence of the influence of Jordan's text in the later Middle Ages.

23 Dividitur … amen: cf.: "Dividitur autem hec oratio dominica in tres partes principales, scilicet in exordium, tractatum, et conclusionem, secundum Petrum de alliaco. In prima parte eius qui petit captatur benevolentia. In secunda petitionum quas fundimus subiungitur continentia, ibi: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. In tertia petitionum optatur confirmatio et edificatio, cum concluditur: *Amen*. Quoad primum dicitur: *Pater noster*." Biel, *CME* lect. 64 (3.59). Here Biel was primarily following Eggelinus of Braunschweig: "Dividitur autem hec oration in duas partes principales. In quarum prima eius qui petitur captetur benevolentiam; secunda petitionum quas fundimus est expressiva." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 211va. Biel had heard Eggelinus's lectures on the mass, most likely while he, Biel, was Domprediger in Mainz in the 1450s to the early 1460s. Biel claimed that he based his own lectures on the mass on those of Eggelinus: "Ex viri clarissimi, ingenii quondam acerrimi magistri Eggelingi de brunszvig sacre theologie licentiati profundissimi, vita pariter et doctrina prefulgidi, lecture, in insigni metropoli moguntina ad clerum pronunciata declarata et exposita; paucis omissis, pluribus additis ac mutatis quam accuratissime comportata." Biel, *CME*, Prologus (1.2). The editors, however, do not include Eggelinus in their list of Biel's sources. Biel does not cite Eggelinus by name hereafter. There are occassional parallels though that make it clear Biel was basing his text, at times word for word, on the lectures of Eggelinus. Eggelinus's *Expositio* is extant in Frankfurt am Main, UB, Ms. Barth.93, which I have used for comparisons. On Eggelinus, see Saak, "De tekstualiteit," (as in note 22 above). In this passage, while Biel was following Eggelinus, there could though be influence of Jordan here as well, since Eggelinus states that the prayer is divided into two principle parts whereas Biel divides it into three; Jordan clearly states three parts: the *exordium*, the *tractatus*, and the *conclusio*. Pierre d'Ailly's *Tractatus de oratione dominice* could also have been influenced by Jordan: "Quantum ergo ad primum, haec Dominica oratio dividitur in exordium, tractatum, et conclusionem. In exordio, benevoltentia captatur, *Pater noster*, etc. In tractatu petitiones ordinantur, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. In conclusione petitionum confirmatio optatur, *Amen*." d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,1 (161–162). See the Introduction above. Durandus too divided the prayer into three parts: "Tres autem articuli sequentes, scilicet

'Preceptis', 'Pater noster' et 'Libera nos' significant tres dies dominice sepulture, ideoque hiis dumtaxat utimur in Parasceue." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 47, 3 (505,53–56). Durandus likewise interpreted the first phrase, *Pater noster qui es in caelis* as a *captatio benevolentiae*: "Prenotandum tamen est quod illud quod in oratione premittitur, uidelicet: 'Pater noster qui es in celis', captatio beneuolentie est." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 48, 2 (510,22–24).

24 1 Ioh. 4:19.

25 Circa primum … excitetur: cf.: "Captamus autem hoc exordio benevolentiam dei ut non ipsum flectamus, cum eius voluntas sit immutabilis, nec ut eius benevolentiam preveniamus, quoniam ipse prior dilexit nos. Sed ut in nobis ipsis de sua benevolentia certam fiduciam excitemus …" Biel, *CME* lect. 64 (3.59).

26 Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,3,14 (*PL* 34, col. 1275; *CCSL* 35.104,286–288)

27 Cf.: "Dicendum quod oratio non porrigitur Deo ut ipsum flectamus, sed ut in nobis ipsis fiduciam excitemus postulandi. Quae quidem praecipue excitetur in nobis considerando eius caritatem ad nos, qua bonum nostrum vult, et ideo dicimus: 'Pater noster'; et eius excellentiam, qu potest, et ideo dicimus: 'Qui es in caelis.'" Thom.Aq. *STh* II/II q 83 art. 9 ad 5 (1850a,12–19); "Circa exordium, primo notandum est, quod in eo Dei beneuolentia captatur tripliciter: primo ex parte rogati, quia *Pater*, cuius Filij sumus per fidem; Ioan. I. Secundo ex parte rogantium, quia *Noster*, nobis datus per charitatem, Ioan. 3. Sed e tiam tertio ex parte accessorum, quia dicitur, *Qui es in caelis*, id est, in sanctis, quorum auxilio erigimur per spem. Dicamus ergo, *Pater*, in quem credimus, *Noster*, quem diligimus, *Qui es in caelis*, de quibus speramus. Secundo notandum est, q uod Dei benevolentiam captamus, non ut ipsum flectamus, cum eius voluntas sit immutabilis; nec ut eius benevolentiam praeveniamus, cum ipse sua benevolentia nos praeveniat, quoniam ipse *prior dilexit nos*, ut dicitur I. Ioan. 4, sed ut in nobis ipsis de eius benevolentia certam fiduciam excitemus, quod fit praecipue ex tribus, quae in hoc exordio notantur. Primo, considerando eius charitatem, qua bonum nostrum vult, quia *Pater*; secundo eius largitatem, qua seipsum nobis dat, quia *Noster*; tertio eius maiestatem, qua nos iuvare potest, quod notamus, cum dicimus, *qui es in caelis*." D'Ailly, *Tract.* 1,1 (162).

28 Aug. de serm.dom. 2,4,16 (*PL* 34, col. 1276; *CCSL* 35.106,342–343)

29 Chrysost. *hom. in Matth.* 19 (287); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103a–b)

30 Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh.* II/II q 1 art. 8 resp. (1409b,24–39)

31 "Ipse quidem Dominius dicitur *Pater Noster* tripliciter, secundum triplex esse quod ab eo accipimus, scilicet: naturae, gratiae et gloriae. Esse naturae dedit nobis in creatione; esse gratiae, in recreatione, seu redemptione; et esse gloriae, in regni comitatione." *VC* I.37 (169a) This passage from the *VC* is taken word for word from Jordan. Thomas's *Summa* II q 1 art. 8 resp. is Jordan's source, but Ludolph is following Jordan here, as can be seen when compared to Thomas: "Circa maiestatem autem divinitatis tria nobis credenda proponuntur. Primo quidem unitas divinitatis, et ad hoc pertinet primus articulus. Secundo, trinitas Personarum, et de hoc sunt tres articuli secundum tres Personas. Tertio vero proponuntur nobis opera divinitatis propria. Quorum primum pertinet ad esse naturae et sic proponitur nobisu articulus creationis. Secundum vero pertinet ad esse gratiae, et sic proponuntur nobis sub uno articulo omnia pertinentia ad sanctificationem humanam. Tertium vero pertinet ad esse gloriae, et sic proponitur nobis alius articulus de resurrectione carnis et de vita aeterna." Thom.Aq. *STh.* II/II q 1 art. 8 resp. (1409b,24–39). Thomas was speaking here of the articles of faith, not the articles of the *Pater Noster*.

32 Deut. 32:6. G is our only witness to give the reference to Dt. 32. The NJB reads: *Is this not your father, who gave you being, who made you, by whom you subsist?* As will be seen, Jordan's biblical references do not always follow the text of the Vulgate, which itself was variable in Jordan's time. For the development of the canon, see Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society. From Galilee to Gregory the Great*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford, 2001), 27–31 and 108–109.

33 Is. 63:16. The NJB reads: *you, Yahweh, are our Father, 'Our Redeemer' is your name from of old*.

34 Iac. 1:18. James 1:18 in the NJB reads: *By his own choice he gave birth to us by the message of the truth, so that we should be a sort of first-fruits of all his creation*.

35 Gal. 4:7. The NJB reads: *and so you are no longer a slave, but a son; and if a son, then an heir by God's own act*.

36 Rom. 8:17. The NJB reads: *And if we are children, then we are heirs, heirs of god and joint heirs with Christ*.

37 Aug. *c.Maximin*. 2,14,7 (*PL* 42, col. 774); cf. Aug. *in evang.Ioh*. 20,4 (*PL* 35, col. 1558; *CCSL* 36.205,13–14); Lombardus 1 *Sent*. dist. 5 cap. 1 (80–87)

38 Act. 17:28. The NJB reads: *it is in him that we live, and move, and exist*.

39 Cf.: "*Pater Noster*: Laudabilis, amabilis, desiderabilis dans nobis esse nature, gratie, glorie, per quod sumus in natura, ampliemur in gratia, vivimus in gloria." *PNcES*. Here the author, as throughout, 'cuts and pastes' from Jordan.

40 Ioh. 8:49. The Vulgate reads: *respondit Iesus: ego daemonium non habeo sed honorifico Patrem meum et vos inhonoratis me. Ego autem non quaero gloriam meam*. Io. 8:49–50. The NJB reads: *I am not possessed; but I honour my Father, and you deny me honour. I do not seek my own glory*. Jordan is most likely citing from memory here and thus inverts the phrases. The order Jordan gives here is not found in Augustine.

41 Cf. Lombardus 3 *Sent*. dist. 1 cap. 3 (26,12–17); Prima … indivisa Cf.: *Ciprianus spricht*: "Nu möchte ain ander frage sin: War vmb lerte vns nit Christus sich selber bitten, daz wir hetten gesprochen 'Ihesu Criste, gottes kind,' als wir sprechen 'vatter vnser', sid der sun nach siner persone vnser nature an sich genomen haut vnd nit der vatter? Hie zů antwurt ich vnd sprich: Sid der sun vnd der vatter vnd der hailig gaist ein wesen sind, so sind wir erlöset von dem vatter—als von ainem ursprung—durch den sun mit dem wúken des hailigen gaistes; vnd dauon nennen wir den namen des vatters nit personlich, als er ainer person zů höret, me wir nennen den namen dez vatters wesenlich, als er drin personen zů gehöret, wann das wúrken der drÿer personen in der zÿt ist an vnderscheidung der werken." (ed. Adam, 63,175–64,184); "Principaliter tamen … indivisa cf.: Sed est hic notandum, quod nomen *pater* ut deo attribuitur dupliciter acccipitur, ut supra lec. xx expositum est: nocionaliter sive personaliter scilicet et essentialiter. Nocionaliter accipitur quando attribuitur deo respectu persone divine, et sic est prima persona in deitate, que non ab alia persona capit esse, sed a se immutabiliter subsistit et eternaliter … Et ita accipitur quotiens in scriptura discernitur a persona filii aut spiritus sancti. Essentialiter accipitur quottiens attribuitur deo respectu creature que ab ipso dependet in esse et conservari, et sic convenit omnibus tribus personis simul et singulariter singulis. Tota enim trinitas, pater, filius et spiritus sanctus, unus pater est, sicut unus deus, unus dominus, unus creator omnium." Biel, *CME* lect. 64 (3.61).

42 Cf.: *Ciprianus spricht*: "Cristus leret vns sprechen 'vatter' vnd nit 'got' noch 'herre' daz wir da uon gar getúrstig sin ze bittenne vnd sicher zenemende." (ed. Adam, 61,125–126).

43 Luc. 11:13. The Vulgate reads: *si ergo vos cum sitis mali nostis bona data dare filiis vestris, quanto magis Pater vester de caelo dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se*. The NJB reads: *If you then, evil as you are, know how to give your children what is good, how much more will the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him*.

44 Cf.: *Ciprianus spricht*: "Ein ander frage ist, war vmb ich nit sprich 'vatter min' als 'vatter unser' …" (ed. Adam, 64,185–186)

45 Cf. Thom.Aq. *Sup.Matth*. 584 (91a); *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:9 (IV,25A; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 24F); *Ad quod dicendum … gratiam* cf.: "Igitur videtur quod et nos orantes ad patrem singillatim debeamus dicere: 'pater meus' et non pater noster … Illius enim pater per naturam, sed noster est pater per gratiam." Biel, *CME* lect. 64 (3.65–66). Biel could very well have been drawing from Thomas here, though Biel does not cite Thomas for this passage (cf. Saak, "De tekstualiteit"); cf.: "Et per hoc quod dicit: 'Pater noster qui est in celis,' dehortatur nos a duobus: uidelict a superbia, ne dicamus 'Pater mi', quasi reputantes proprium quod est commune; et ad indignitate, scilicet ne reddamur indigni tanto patre qui consistit in celis. Deus enim solius Christi est pater per naturam, cui soli competit dicere 'Pater mi'; fidelium autem est pater per gratiam, quibus competit dicere 'Pater noster' … Hortatur enim nos per hoc ad duo scilicet ad seruandum gratiam adoptionis, cum dicit 'Pater', et unionem fraternitatis, cum ait 'noster'." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48, 2 (510,36–511,49).

46 Ioh. 20:17.

47 Cypr. *domin.orat*. 8 (*CCSL* 3A.93,101–111)

48 Ps.Chrysost. *In Matth*. 14 (*PG* 56, col. 711)

49 Aug. *de serm. dom*. 2,4,16 (*PL* 34, 1276; *CCSL* 35.107,358–362); *Tertio … cognoscant*: cf.: "Tercia causa est ut per hoc Christus nos invitaret ad humilitatem et a nobis tollet omnem occasionem superbie ne scilicet dives supra pauperem se extollet et nobilis super ignobilem se offerunt superior supra inferiorem, potens super debiliorem, re ligiosus supra secularem sed omnes se noscent fratres et unius patris filios, hinc dicit Augustinus in de sermone domini: Ammonentur per orationem dominicam divites et genere potentes seu nobiles supra seculum non superbie adversos pauperes et ignobiles quoniam omnes simul dicunt pater noster." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 213va; "Tertia causa est ut per hoc christus nos invitaret ad humilitatem, et a nobis tolleret omnem superbie occasionem, ne scilicet dives super pauperem se extollat, nobilis super ignobilem, superior super inferiorem, potens super debilem, clericus super secularem, sed omnes se fratres cognosceretur." Biel, *CME*, lect. 64 (3.67). Biel was clearly following Eggelinus here, though Eggelinus's text could witness influence from Jordan's.

50 Matt. 23:8. The NJB reads: *and you are all brothers*, not including there for the Vulgate's *autem*.

51 Chrysost. *hom. in Matth*. 19,4 (*PG* 57,278). For Jordan's entire treatment here of why we say 'our' Father, cf. *CCC* 4,2,2,3.

Lecture 2

1 Matth. 6:9. The Latin uses the plural, literally, "who art in the heavens", *in celis*, rather than *in celo*. In English though it is customary that the singular is used. Thus here and

throughout I have translated *in celis* in the singular, even though for Jordan, the plural is used. This has importance with respect to Jordan's discussion of the various meanings of 'the heavens', which in English has a slightly different connotation from being 'in heaven'.

2 Cf.: "Dat ergo fiduciam impetrandi bonum, unde non dicitur 'Domine', cui seruitur timore, sed 'Pater', cui seruitur amore." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48,3 (511,64–66).

3 nomen infinitum Cf. Priscianus, *Institutiones*, in *Grammatici Latini*, vols. 2–3, ed. Heinrich Keil (Leipzig, 1855–1880; reprint: Hildesheim, 1961), III.20,21–30.

4 sonantium Cf. Ibid. II.414,13–16.

5 Ex. 3:13–14. The complete passage in the Vulgate reads: *ait Moses ad Deum: ecce ego vadam ad filios Israehl et dicam eis Deus patrum vestrorum misit ad me ad vos, si dixerint mihi quod est nomen eius quod dicam eis? Dixit Deus ad Mosen: ego sum qui sum ait sic dices filiis Israhel qui est misit me ad vos*; the NBJ reads: *Look, if I go to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your ancestors has sent me to you,' and they say to me, 'What is his name?' what am I to tell them? God said to Moses, 'I am he who is.' And he said, 'This is what you are to say to the Israelites, 'I am' has sent me to you.'*

6 quod … infinitum Dam. *fid.orth*. 1,9 (836); cf.: "Qui hanc, in quam, questionem solvit per ea que premissa sunt, quia vere esse est semper et immultabiliter esse, quod soli deo convenit, hinc et moysi a deo ad liberandum populum isreal misso ac querenti: Si dixerit mihi populus: *Quod est nomen eius qui misit te? quid dicam eis? Dixit dominus illi: 'Ego sum qui sum'*. Et addidit: *Sic dices iliis israel: Qui est misit me*. Ecce ergo de se dicere iussit, quod soli deo vere et proprie convenit; unde Damascenus: Primum et principalius eorum que de deo dicuntur nominibus est 'qui est', sicut et ispe loquens in oraculo moysi ait: 'totum in seipso comprehendens velut quoddam pelagus substantie infinitum et indeterminatum.' Nam ratione *qui* quod est nomen infinitum significat substantie infinitatem. Ratione *est* quod quod significat ut actu presens in nunc immutabilitatis significat essentiam ut actualitatem semper presentem, et ita ut eternam et immutabilem. Sic ergo qui est propriissime acceptum significat substantiam infinitam, eternam et immutabilem. Talis autem est solus deus. Vere ergo per complexum qui est, commendamus deum patrem mostrum ex incommutabili subsistentia actuali et eterna, quod mulli creature sed soli deo convenit." Biel, *CME* 65 (71).

7 Merito … minuisti Bernardus, *De consideratione* 5,6,13 (*PL* 185.477,112–116)

8 Ioh. 5:26. The NJB reads: *For as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself*.

9 de … vestigio Ps.Aug. *cog.vit* 10 (1013–1014); Aug. *civ*. 10,31 (309,13–18)

10 Here *in celis*; see note 1 above.

11 Cf.: "Sunt autem celi corporales, sunt et spirituales, et de utrisque exponitur clausula: *in celis*." Biel, *CME* 65 (71).

12 Deus … vicinior Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,5,17 (107,365–370)

13 convenit … terra Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,5,18 (108,389–396). 'Great' and 'small' here refer to people, so that literally Jordan is saying that the senses of the great people might as easily sense God being in heaven as those of the 'small people', with 'the great' (*magni*) here meaning the learned, cultured, educated, noble, rich, etc. and 'the small' (*parvi*) being the 'average' person with limited education, culture, etc. At the time Jordan was writing, in Italy in the early Renaissance there was the distinction between the *popolo grosso*, or

the 'great people', and the *popolo minuto*, or the 'little people', referring to the nobles and wealthy and the 'common man' respectively. This is the sense in which I have taken it here.

14 erubescant … celis Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.* 14 (711); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103b)

15 in … affigens Chrysost. *hom. in Matth.* 19 (278); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103b)

16 ad … properemus Cassian. *coll.pat.* 19,18 (789A); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103b)

17 orantes … surgit Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,5,18 (108,383); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103b)

18 Ps. 18:2. Here the LXX and the Hebrew have the same reading. The NJB reads: *The heavens declare the glory of God* (Ps. 19:1).

19 in adversis Cf. Bernardus, *Super Cant.* 27,5,8 (*PL* 183.187,14–19)

20 tantum … terram Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,5,17 (107,379–381); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (103b)

21 Phil. 3:20. The NJB reads: *But our homeland is in heaven*. The Vulgate's *conversatio* is not *patria*, or 'homeland'; *conversatio*, which can also be 'literally' a conversation, is an association, a way of acting; it is rather rare in classical Latin, but in medieval Latin is common, referring especially to monastic life. In this light perhaps the best translation of it would be 'comportment', as least thus I have translated it here.

22 Ps. 16:11. Jordan here is following the LXX; the Hebrew text in the Vulgate reads: *oculos suos posuerunt declinare in terram*. The object, *me*, is implied as is clear when the entire verse is read, whereby the subject is 'my enemies' (*inimici mei*) of v. 9: *proicientes me nunc circumdederunt me oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*. The entire verse in the NJB reads: *They are advancing against me, now they are closing in, watching for the chance to hurl me to the ground* (Ps. 17:11). Jordan, however, seems to be using the verse to refer to the 'wicked', as contrasted with the 'heavenly', whose comportment is in heaven, thus ignoring the implied object *me*, i.e., sinners keep their own eyes on earthly things, rather than heavenly, not so much as looking to cast me down. Thus I have translated the citation here without the *me*, which I think is most in keeping with how Jordan is using the verse, even as it makes something out of the verse that is not really there. This verse also ends a passage that is paralleled in Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio*, which, as discussed in the Introduction, offers clear proof of Biel drawing directly from Jordan: "Secundo modo exponitur hec particular *in celis* moraliter, ut per celos non intelligantur corpora spherarum celestium, sed anime sancte, iuste et virtuose et angeli sancti, unde Hugo ubi supra: 'In celo maxime habitare dicitur quamvis sit ubique', quia per celos intelliguntur angeli et homines iusti in quibus maxime deus habitat, sicut scriptum est: *Anima iusti sedes est sapientie*, Sapie. ix, secundum aliam translationem … In iustis nanque speciali modo habitat deus quo non habitat in ceteris peccatoribus et irrationabilibus creaturis … Dicuntur autem viri sancti celum metaphorice ob quasdam conditiones et proprietates celorum materialium que in eis per similitudinem spiritualiter inveniuntur primo propter ornatus pulchritudinem. Sunt enim celi corpora lucida, sole ac stellarum multitudine ornata, ab omnis immundicie contagione remota. Ita viri sancti et iusti sunt intellectu luminosi et clari, a vitiorum maculis et feditate purgati, et charitate ac diversarum virtutum floribus tanquam sole ardentissimo et stellis fulgidissimis adornati; unde beatus Bernardus super Cantica: 'Anima sancta celum est', in quo sol est intellectus, luna fides, astra virtutes, et sicut stelle in nocte lucent, in die latent. Sic vera virtus est que in prosperis non apparet, in adversitatibus emicat. Et de apostolis specialiter dicitur quod celi sunt, unde Honorius super illud Psal.: *Celi enarrant gloriam*: Celi ait sunt sancti apostoli … Secundo, viri sancti celi dicuntur propter celestis conversationis celsitudinem,

unde apostolus Ad Phil. iii: *Nostra conversatio in celis est*. Peccatorum autem conversatio circa terrena versatur. De quo Psal.: *Oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*." Biel, *CME* 65 (pp. 75–76). Whereas Jordan has *veri sancti*, Biel has *viri sancti*; S though reads *viri sancti* as well and could indeed reflect a textual tradition of Jordan's *Expositio* known to Biel, especially as manuscript G reads *viri*, and G was copied in Mainz. Regardless, though, the textual parallels are such to strongly suggest, if not to give conclusive evidence, that Biel was drawing directly from Jordan. There is no parallel passage in Eggelinus or in d'Ailly, or in any other potential intermediary source that I have found.

23 Is. 66:1. The Vulgate reads: *caelum sedis mea*, in the full context of the verse: *haec dicit Dominus caelum sedis mea et terra scabillum pedum meorum*. Literally, 'heaven is my seat'; the NJB reads: *With heaven my throne and earth my footstool* … The variant *celum mihi sedes est* is extremely frequent in medieval literature; e.g.: Aug. *enarr*. 121,9 (*PL* 37, col. 1626).

24 Ps. 131:14. Jordan here again is following LXX; the Hebrew translation of the Vulgate reads: *haec est requies mea in sempiternum hic habitabo quia desideravi eam*; the NJB reads: *Here shall I rest for evermore, here shall I make my home as I have wished* (Ps. 132:14).

25 Nec … meum Bernardus *Super Cant*. 27,5,9 (*PL* 183.188,8–12); *veni delecta mea* etc. from *Legenda Aurea*, c. 119: *De Assumptione Marie*. Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (1890; reprint Osnabrück, 1969), 507.

26 Cf. 2 Cor. 6:4–13. The phrase Jordan cites, *dilatamini in caritate*, does not as such appear in the Vulgate text though we can find: *in caritate … dilatamini* with *in caritate* in v. 4 and *dilatamini* in v. 13. The NJB reads for v. 13: *In fair exchange—I speak as though to children of mine—you must open your hearts too*. The manuscripts all have the reference to 2 Cor. 5, which most likely indicates a differing chapter division rather than a scribal error or an error in memory.

27 Ps. 103:2. Jordan follows the LXX; the Hebrew text in the Vulgate reads: *extendens caelos ut pellem*; the NJB reads: *You stretch out the heavens like a tent* (Ps. 104:2).

28 pellis … dilatatur Cf. Bernardus *Super Cant*. 27,3,5 (*PL* 183.184,28–185,12)

29 dilatatur … domino Cf. Bernardus *Super Cant*. 27,6,10 (*PL* 183.189,8–15)

30 Eph. 2:21; cf. Bernardus *Super Cant*. 27,9–10(*PL* 183,918c–919b). The full verse in the NJB reads: *Every structure knit together in him grows into a holy temple in the Lord*.

31 Cf. Ps. 35:10; Ps. 135:5–7. Here Jordan seems to be citing for memory as there is no exact text in the Psalms corresponding to Jordan's qutoation. The closest parallel is Ps. 35:10, which in the LXX reads: *quoniam apud te fons vitae in lumine tuo videbimus lumen*. Jordan may also have had Ps. 135:5–7 in mind: *qui fecit caelos in intellectu quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius qui firmavit terram super aquas quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius qui fecit luminaria magna quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius*. In the NJB Ps. 36:9, which corresponds to the Vulgate's Ps. 35:10, reads: *in you is the source of life, by your light we see the light*; Ps. 136:4–9 in the NJB, which corresponds to the Vulgate's Ps. 135:5–7, reads: *He alone works wonders, for his faithful love endures for ever. In wisdom he made the heavens, for his faithful love endures for ever. He set the earth firm on the waters, for his faithful love endures for ever. He made the great lights, for his faithful love endures for ever. The sun to rule the day, for his faithful love endures for ever. Moon and stars to rule the night, for his faithful love endures for ever*. It seems Jordan has both of these psalms in mind in his reference.

32 Ct. 2:4. The full verse in the NJB reads: *He has taken me to his cellar, and his banner over me is love*. The majority of modern translations have a similar reading to the NJB, yet the

Douay-Rheims follows the Vulgate more closely: *He brought me into the cellar of wine, he set in order charity in me*, which is in keeping with how I have translated it here, based on Jordan's intent as seen by his use of the verse.

33 Ps. 67:9. The NJB reads: *the heavens pelted down rain at the presence of God, at the presence of God, the God of Israel* (Ps. 68:8). The Vulgate has *a facie dei*, literally, 'from the face of God', though in this case the meaning is one of 'as a result of'. God had become present to lead his people, and the earth shook and the heavens poured forth, rather than God's face literally being the 'font' of the pouring forth. The verb 'poured forth' here is *distillaverunt*, which is literally 'dripping forth', which Jordan plays on in his explanation. Yet 'pouring forth' makes better sense here in keeping with the verse, since it would seem incongruous to have the heavens 'dripping forth' when the earth had quaked; thus I translated *distillaverunt* as 'pouring forth' though the 'drop by drop' aspect of the verb is important for Jordan's use of the verse.

34 Ct. 5:5. The NJB reads: *myrrh ran off my hands*. The verb here used in the Vulgate is *stillaverunt*, though the *Cavensis* text, a ninth-century Spanish manuscript of the Bible, reads *distillaverunt*, the same verb as in Ps. 67:9, which Jordan related to this 'dripping forth' of myrhh. Jordan himself followed the *Cavensis* (i.e. a manuscript in that tradition) in using *distillaverunt* here in Ct. 5:5 as well, or he simply chose to use *distillarverunt* rather than *stillaverunt* to make the parallel with Ps. 67:9 even more explicit.

35 Ct. 4:11. The NJB reads: *Your lips, my promised bride, distill wild honey*. The verb here too in the Vulgate is *distillans*, again making the connection and parallel to the *distillaverunt* of Ct. 5:5 and Ps. 67:9.

36 deus … memoramur Cf. Cassian. *coll.pat*. 9,18 (789A)

37 Ioh. 14:2. The NJB reads: *In my Father's house there are many places to live in*.

38 Iob 23:3. The Vulgate uses the verb *tribuat*, rather than Jordan's *det*. Of the manuscript witness here used, only G has *tribuat*. *Det* is not listed as a variant for the Vulgate text. The NJB reads: *Will no one help me to know how to travel to his dwelling?*

39 Ex. 33:18–19. All the textual witness used here read Deuteronomy, with the exception of manuscript G, which has Exodus, which is where the citation is found. The NJB reads: *He then said, 'Please show me your glory.' Yahweh said, 'I shall make all my goodness pass before you …'*

40 Ps. 47:9. The LXX and the Hebrew are the same here with the single exception that the Hebrew has the form *sicut … ita*, rather than the LXX's *sicut … sic*. The NJB reads: *What we had heard we saw for ourselves* (Ps. 48:8).

41 Ex. 15:17. The NJB reads: *You will bring them in and plant them on the mountain which is your heritage*.

42 Ibi … finis Aug. *civ*. 22,30 (866,145–148)

43 Ps. 16:15. The NJB reads: *and when I awake I shall be filled with the vision of you* (Ps. 17:15).

44 Tanta … contemnerentur Aug. *lib.arb*. 3,25,77 (321,63–68)

45 *Cf. CCC* 4,2,2,4. Jordan gives a far more extensive treatment of God being 'in heaven' than does the *CCC*, which also does not treat the first two words, namely, 'who art' (*qui es*) at all.

Lecture 3

1 Matth. 6:9

2 Durandus likewise divides the prayer into seven petitions, but procedes in the opposite manner, beginning with the last petition first, based on the 'natural order': "Et hee septem petitiones secundum Apostolum septem postulationes dicuntur, quarum tres prime spectant ad uitam eternam, siue ad patriam … Tres ultime ad presentem uitam siue ad uiam. Et ideo deposito calice dicit eas. Media uero, scilicet, 'Panem nostrum' etc. pertinet ad utrumque. Porro tres prime succedunt ordine temporis, sed precedunt ordine dignitatis; tres ultime succedunt ordine dignitatis, sed precedunt ordine temporis. Duplex igitur ordo est in dominica oratione notandus, unus in descendendo quo concordat cum donis, alter in ascendendo qui conuenit cum uirtutibus. Dona namque de summis ad yma descendunt …; uirtutes uero de ymis ad summa conscendunt … Nempe Dominus in oratione ipsa secutus est ordinem dignitatis qui est artificialis, ut de maioribus ad minora descenderet. Sed doctores in illius expositione secuntur ordinem temporis qui naturalis est, ut de minoribus ad maiora, id est de temporalibus ad eterna conscendant: quem modum seruabimus exponendo." Durandus, *Rat*. IV,47, 8–9 (507,118–508,140). Here too we can see a possible influence of Jordan on d'Ailly and Biel: "*Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Post exordium sequitur tractatus, in quo petitiones ad deum fundende continentur." Biel *CME* 66 (p. 83); "Post exordium sequitur tractatus, in quo septem petitiones ordinantur." d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,2,1 (165). On this passage, as its parallels with Eggelinus as well, see Introduction above.

3 Primo … ostendatur Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 183^{r}: "Dicitur primo, quare tam pauca verba continet? Respondetur quarti ratione: brevis est prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda ut melius in mente tenear; tertia, ut nullus de eius ignarari excusetur; quatuor, ut sine omni fastidio ferventius frequitetur." Primo … ostendatur Cf. *VC* 1,37 (168b): "Quare autem haec oratio tam brevis, est, et tam pauca verba complectitur, possunt assignari septem rationes; prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda, ut melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de ejus ignorantia excusetur; quarta, ut frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut taedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut fiducia cito impetrandi tribuatur; septima, ut in devotione mentis non in multiplicatione verborum virtus orationis esse ostendatur." D'Ailly likewise followed Jordan: "Quarto, notandum est, quod haec oratio, in suo exordio, et in omni sua parte brevis est: et hoc fit, secundum sanctos, propter plures rationes. Primo, ut fiducia cito impetrandi tribuatur, quia fiduciam dat cito annuendi, qui vult breviter rogari. Secundo, ut discamus res, de quibus orandum esse instruimur: non enim docet haec oratio verba, sed res: quia non his solis verbis oratur, sed etiam aliis, non tamen in alio, sed in eodem sensu: nam quaecunque a Deo oranda sunt, in his verbis breviter continenter. Tertio, ut ea, pro quibus orandum est, paucis verbis facilius memoriae commendentur. Quarto ut prudentia ingeniosorum, in paucitate verborum, de profunditate mysteriorum, et rerum multiplicatate miretur: Unde super illos verbo Isaiae: *Verbum abbreviatum fecit Dominus super terram* … Quinto, ut haec oratio (quae propter sui brevitatem faciliter addiscitur, et memoriter retinetur,) etiam frequentius dicatur, et sine fastidio saepius repetatur. Sexto, ut de eius ignorantia nullus excusetur: quia quod tam faciliter scitur, non nisi culpabiliter ignoratur. Septimo, ut in mentis devotione, et non inverborum multiplicatione virtus orationis ostendatur." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,1,4 (163–164).

4 Unde … diminutus Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 dub. 4 (1848b,17–21)

5 Ad … implicite Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 ad 4 (1849b,51–1850a,11); *VC* 1,37 (172b): "Et sciendum quod Lucas omittit duas petitiones orationes Dominicae, scilicet tertiam et septimam, quia tertia continetur in duabus praecedentibus, et septima in sexta. In sanctificatione enim animae quae petitur in secunda, impletur divina voluntas quae petitur in tertia. Vel si gloriam Dei principaliter quaeramus, et participationem regni ejus, quae continentur in duabus primis petitionibus, bene voluntatem ejus facimus, et ejus voluntas impletur in nobis: quod continetur in tertia, quia ad hoc praecipue voluntas Dei tendit ut ejus sanctitatem cognoscamus, et cum ipso regnemus. Similiter septima continetur in sexta, ut sciat unusquisque se liberari a malo, cum non inducitur in tentationem. Si enim in tentationem non inducamur ei succumbendo, sed magis praevalemus resistendo, bene liberamur a malo. Et sic quod Matthaeus dicit explicite, Lucas complectitur implicite." Here again Ludolph was drawing primarily from Jordan, who based his text on Thomas: "Dicendum quod, sicut Augustinus dicit in Enchir. Lucas in Oratione Dominica petitiones non septem, sed quinque complexus est … [*in textu*] Ostendens enim tertiam petitionem duarum praemissarum esse quoddammodo repetitionem, praetermittendo eam magis facit intelligi; quia scilicet ad hoc praecipue voluntas Dei tendit ut eius sanctitatem cognoscamus, et cum ipso regnemus. Quod etiam Matthaeus in ultimo posuit, Libera nos a malo, Lucas non posuit, ut sciat unusquisque in eo se liberari a malo quod non infertur in tentationem." Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 ad 4 (1849b,51–1850a,11). In this light too the parallels here with Biel suggest that Biel was drawing on Jordan, rather than on Thomas or Ludolph: "Sed hic quis dubitare posset, cur lucas orationem dominicam conscribens tantum quinque ponit petitiones. Aut enim ispe diminute tradidit, aut mattheus superfluus fuit ponens septem dum quinque sufficiunt. Ait enim LU. xi.: *Pater, sanctificetur nomen tuu, adveniat regnum tuum, panem nostrum quottidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis peccata nostra, siquidem et nos dimittimus debenti nobis, et ne nos inducas in tentationem*. Dimittit igitur: *Fiat voluntas tua, et libera nos a malo*. Ad hoc respondet beatus Augustinus in Enchiridione, cap. cli.: 'Evgangelista Lucas in oratione dominica, ait, petitiones quinque non septem complexus est. Nec ab isto utique disceptavit, sed quemadmodum illa septem sint intelligenda ipsa sua brevitate commonuit. Nomen quippe dei sanctificetur in spiritu, dei autem regnum in carnis resurrectione venturum. Ostendens ergo Lucas tertiam petitionem duarum superiorum esse quoddammodo reptitionem magis eam dimittendo fecit intelligi'. Quia scilicet ad hoc principaliter dei voluntas tendit ut eius sanctitatem cognoscamus et cum ipso regnemus, subdit Augustinus: 'Deinde trees alias adiungit, de pane quottidiano, de remissione peccatorum, de tentatione. At vero quod ille ultimo posuit, sed libera nos a malo, iste non posuit, ut intelligeremus ad illud superius quod de tentatione dictum est pertinere, ut sciat unusquisque in eo liberari a malo cum non infertur in tentationem'. Ideo nec lucas diminute nec mattheus superflue petitiones posuit, sed quod unus intellexit, alius expressius posuisse utile reputavit. Ecclesia autem utitur eo quod expressius est, quod mattheus exemplavit." Biel, *CME* 66 (83); cf. d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,2,4 (166–167): "Tertio notandum est, quod (sicut patet Lucae 10 et sicut dicit Augustinus in Enchiridio) Lucas in oratione Dominica, non petitiones septem, sed quinque complexus est. Ut enim ostendat tertiam petitionem duarum praemissarum esse quodammodo repetitionem, praetermittendo eam, hoc facit intelligi: quia scilicet ad hoc praecipue Dei voluntas tendit, ut eius sanctitatem cognoscamus, et cum ipso regnemus. Quod etiam Mathaeus ultimo posuit, *libera nos a malo*: Lucas non posuit;

ut sciat unusquisque in eo se liberari a malo, quod non inducitur in tentationem. Ideo nec Lucas diminute, nec Mathaeus superflue petitiones posuit: sed quod unus intellexit, alius expressius posuisse, utile reputavit." Here d'Ailly was closely following Thomas, as was Jordan, though the last phrase in both did not come from Thomas and thus could indicate d'Ailly's reliance on Jordan as well.

6 septenarius … Probam Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (66,8–12); cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 183^{r}: "Secundo dubitatur quare solum septem petitiones comprehendat? Dicendum quod septenarius numerus est universitatis. Et quia omnia que recte desiderantur, in septem petitionibus contentur, ut dicit Augustinus in epistola ad Probam."

7 Tertio … complexus *Cf. VC* 1,37 (168B): "Omnes vero petitiones sub septenario numero comprehenduntur, quia septenarius est numerus universitatis, at universitas omnium recte desiderabilium in his comprehenditur petitionibus; ideo rationabiliter omnes petitiones sub septenario est complexus," and: "Hoc etiam ipso petitionum eius numero insinuatur. Septem enim petitiones continet, ut dicetur, et septem numerus est universitatis. Nam et universa que a domino licite desiderari possunt et postulari his petitionibus continentur, et extra has nihil licite postulatur. Unde beatus Augustinus Ad Probam: …" Biel, *CME* 64 (54). Biel continued here with a string of citations to Augustine, the very quotations Jordan included in Lectio 10; see below, Lectio 10 for the text comparison, which there, as here, again suggests that Biel was directly borrowing from Jordan, rather than excerpting from Augustine himself, or, in this case, taking his quotations from Thomas.

8 Jordan literally writes that the vices are 'excluded' (*excluduntur*) and the virtues, beatitudes, gifts and fruits are 'introduced' (*introducuntur*). Thus as will be seen below, in each of his lectures on the petitions he includes explicitly sections on what vices are 'excluded' by the petitition and which virtues, beatitudes, gifts, and fruits are 'introduced'. Certainly the text of the prayer itself has nothing about the virtues and vices. What he is meaning is that the Lord's Prayer is so efficacious that by praying it, virtues are infused into our souls, with each virtue associated with a given petition, and the vices are excluded from affecting our souls. The efficacy of divine grace and prayer in the context of sanctification is what is meant in this regard and the effect of praying the prayer on the ontological status of our souls. Virtues and vices were for Jordan, as for his time in general, habits of the soul as much as, if not more than, specific virtuous or vicious acts. In some ways this can be illustrated with reference to Martin Luther's comment that only a good tree can produce good fruit, which Luther formulated directly against this late medieval theory of 'habits' (*Disputatio contra schoasticam theologiam*, 4; *WA* 1.224,13–14). Yet Jordan would have completely agreed: only a good tree can produce good fruit, but the issue was how does one become a 'good tree' and can a 'good tree' become a 'better tree'. For Jordan, one becomes a 'good tree', or a 'better tree', by bringing forth good fruit, or good works. This side of the 'simultaneity' Luther rejected, leaving only the prerequisite of the good tree, whereas Jordan kept the two in symbiotic tension. This is, naturally, the relationship between grace and good works, or in technical theological terms, the relationship between justification and sanctification. For Luther, one had to be justified first, and then came sanctification, which though was distinct from justification. For Jordan, one was justified first as well, through God's grace, but such a justification became the basis for an on-going process of sanctification in preparing for a 'final justification'. Jordan kept justification and sanctification symbiotically together, whereas Luther divorced the two. It is, though, in this context

that we need to understand what Jordan was meaning by the virtues being 'introduced' by the petitions of the Lord's prayer and the vices being excluded. D'Ailly also associated the virtues, vices, gifts, and beatitudes with each of the petitions, but did so separately after his exposition in a distinct section titled: *Expositio mystica Orationis Dominicae*; d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,11,1–3 (181–183). This was then followed by the second part of his treatise which dealt with questions concerning the text, some of which bare close resemblance to Jordan's; see d'Ailly, *Tract*. 2,1–3 (183–188).

9 dubitatur … ordinem Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 dub. 2 (1848b,5–10)

10 Dicendum … petitiones Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 ad 2 (1849b,22–27); cf. note 2 above.

11 Cf.: "Quia enim oratio nostra est quodammodo desiderii nostri expresiva: illa solum recte orando petimus, quae recte desiderare valemus. In hac autem oratione, non solum ponuntur omnium, quae recte desiderare possumus: sed etiam eodem ordine petuntur, quo desideranda sunt; et sic haec oratio non solum postulare instituit, sed etiam nostrum affectum ad ordinate desiderandum informat." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,2,1 (165).

12 'End' here and below, *finis* in Latin, refers to the goal, that to which we tend, and even to the final cause of the prayer, as Jordan explained in his first Lecture.

13 Et quoniam ut dictum est supra in prologo … ad gloriam regni eius pervenire: cf.: "Ordo itaque petitionum ordinem sequitur desideriorum. In ordinato autem desiderio ut dictum est primo cadit finis, deinde ordinata ad finem. Finis noster deus est, in quem noster affectus dupliciter tendit. Uno modo propter seipsum prout est summum bonum in se, quod facimus dum per actum charitatis deum in seipso diligimus, eiusque gloriam et perfectionem super omnia volumus. Alio modo tendit in eum desiderium nostrum, ut est summum bonum nostrum, dum videlicet ipso frui cupimus per actum spei. Primum pertinet ad affectionem iusti. Secundum ad affectionem commodi. Illo enim modo diligimus dominum ut commodum nostrum, et ita nos diligimus in deo. Utraque dilectio bona, sed perfectior est prima quia utraque actus est virtutis theologice, sed prima virtutis excellentissime scilicet charitatis, secunda spei. Ad primum igitur pertinet petitio primo: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, per quam petimus gloriam dei. Ad secundum pertinet secunda petitio: *Adveniat regnum tuum*, per quam petimus ad gloriam pervenire, que consistit in eius clara visione et beatam fruitione. Et sic iste due petitiones ordinantur ad finem scilicet ad beatitudinem. Prima ad beatitudinem obiectivam, secunda ad formalem. Obiectiva est deus, formalis est fruitio dei." Biel, *CME* 66 (80). Here Biel does not refer to Thomas, though Biel could have based his exposition on Thomas or on Jordan, as Jordan simply quotes Thomas, though without acknowledgment: "Manifestum est autem quod primo cadit in desierio nostro finis, deinde ea quae sunt ad finem. Finis autem noster Deus est. In quem noster affectus tendit dupliciter: uno quidem modo, prout volumus gloriam Dei; alio modo, secundum quod volumus frui gloria eius. Quorum primum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei qua Deum in seipso diligimus; secundum vero pertinet ad dilectionem qua diligimus nos in Deo. Et ideo prima petitio ponitur: 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum' per quam petimus gloriam Dei. Secunda vero ponitur: 'Adveniat regnum tuum', per quam petimus ad gloriam Dei et regni eius pervenire." Thom.Aq. *STh* II/II, 83,9 (1848b–1849a). D'Ailly here follows Thomas, though could also have taken his text directly from Jordan. D'Ailly does not cite Thomas; d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,2,2 (165–166).

14 'Order' here is in the sense of 'directs', 'guides', 'regulates', from the Latin *ordino, ordinare*, not in that of 'command'.

15 Primo … malo Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 resp. (1848b,47–1849a,53). Here Biel constructs his own text, drawn from Thomas: "Ordo itaque petitionum ordinem sequitur desideriorum. In ordinato autem desiderio ut dictum est primo cadit finis, deinde ordinata ad finem. Finis noster deus est, in quem noster affectus dupliciter tendit. Uno modo propter seipsum prout est summum bonum in se, quod facimus dum per actum charitatis deum in seipso diligimus, eiusque gloriam et perfectionem super omnia volumus. Alio modo tendit in eum desiderium nostrum, ut est summum bonum nostrum, dum videlicet ipso frui cupimus per actum spei. Primum pertinet ad affectionem iusti. Secundum ad affectionem commodi. Illo enim modo diligimus dominum ut commodum nostrum, et ita nos diligimus in deo. Utraque dilectio bona, sed perfectior est prima quia utraque actus est virtutis theologice, sed prima virtutis excellentissime scilicet charitatis, secunda spei. Ad primum igitur pertinet petitio primo: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, per quam petimus gloriam dei. Ad secundum pertinet secunda petitio: *Adveniat regnum tuum*, per quam petimus ad gloriam pervenire, que consistit in eius clara visione et beatam fruitione. Et sic iste due petitiones ordinantur ad finem scilicet ad beatitudinem. Prima ad beatitudinem obiectivam, secunda ad formalem. Obiectiva est deus, formalis est fruitio dei." Biel, *CME* 66 (80); cf.: "Manifestum est autem quod primo cadit in desierio nostro finis, deinde ea quae sunt ad finem. Finis autem noster Deus est. In quem noster affectus tendit dupliciter: uno quidem modo, prout volumus gloriam Dei; alio modo, secundum quod volumus frui gloria eius. Quorum primum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei qua Deum in seipso diligimus; secundum vero pertinet ad dilectionem qua diligimus nos in Deo. Et ideo prima petitio ponitur: 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum' per quam petimus gloriam Dei. Secunda vero ponitur: 'Adveniat regnum tuum', per quam petimus ad gloriam Dei et regni eius pervenire." Thom.Aq., *STh* II–II, 83,9 (1848b–1849a). Biel does not refer to Thomas, though Biel could have based his exposition on Thomas or on Jordan, as Jordan simply quotes Thomas, though without acknowledgment. In the continuation of the passage, Biel does reference Thomas: "Ad finem hunc ordinat nos aliquid dupliciter. Uno modo per se, alio modo per accidens. Per se dirigit bonum quod est utile ad finem. Et hoc est duplex. Nam aliquid ordinat nos ad finem directe et principaliter, scilicet meritum quo beatitudinem meremur deo obediendo. Et quantum ad hoc petitur: *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.* Alio modo instrumentaliter et quasi coadiuvando nos ad merendum. Ad hoc pertinet quod dicimus: *Panem nostrum quottidianum da nobis hodie*. Sive intelligatur de pane verbi dei, sive de pane sacramentali, sive de pane corporali. Per accidens ordinamur ad beatitudinem per remotionem prohibentis. Sunt autem tria que nos prohibent a beatitudine consecutione. Primum est peccatum quod directe prohibet a regno dei, et quantum ad hoc dicitur: *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittemus debitoribus nostris*. *Debita*, id est peccata. Secundo prohibet et impedit nos tentatio, que retrahit ad obedientia divine voluntatis, et inclinat seu inducit ad peccatum, ideo petitur: *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*. Tertio nos impedit penalitas presens, ideo subditur: *Sed libera nos a malo*. Hunc ordinem tradit sanctus Thomas, ii,ii, quest. lxxxiii, art. ix. quem imitatur dominus Petrus de alliaco." Biel, *CME* 65 (80–81); cf.: "Ad finem autem praedictum nos ordinat aliquid dupliciter: uno modo, per se; alio modo, per accidens. Per se quidem bonum quod est utile in finem. Est autem aliquid utile in finem beatitudinis duplicieter. Uno modo directe et principaliter, secundum meritum quo beatitudinem meremur Deo obediendo. Et quantum ad hoc ponitur: *Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra.* Alio modo instrumentaliter, et quasi coadiu-

vans nos ad merendum. Et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur: *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*; sive hoc intelligatur de pane sacramentali, cuius quotidianus usus proficit homini, in quo etiam intelliguntur omnia alia sacramenta; sive etiam intelligatur de pane corporali, ut per panem intelligatur omnis sufficientia victus, sicut dicit Augustinus, *Ad Probam*; quia et Eucharistia est praecipuum sacramentum et panis et praecipuus cibus; unde et in Evangelio Matthaei scriptum est: 'Supersubstantialem', idest 'praecipuum', ut Hieronymous exponit. Per accidens autem ordinamur in beatitudinem per remotionem prohibentis. Tria autem sunt quae nos a beatitudine prohibent. Primo quidem peccatum, quod directe excludit a Regno, secundum illud I *ad Cor*. VI: *Neque fornicarii, neque idolis servientes*, etc., *regnum Dei possidebunt*. Et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Secundo tentatio, quae nos impedit ab observantia divinae voluntatis. Et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur: *et ne nos inducas in tentationem*; per quod non petimus ut non tentemur, sed ut a tentatione non vincamur, quod est in tentationem induci. Tertio poenalitas praesens, ut quae impedit sufficientiam vitae. Et quantum ad hoc dicitur: *Libera nos a malo*." Thom.Aq., *STh*. II/II 83,9 resp. (1848b,47–1849a,53). While basing himself on Thomas, Biel constructs his own text. He explicitly cites Thomas and d'Ailly, and his text *sive intelligatur de pane sacramentali sive de pane corporali* did not come from Jordan, but directly from Thomas. Even though there are parallel texts that indicate Biel's direct borrowing from Jordan, he was also using Thomas as well, as he did too with Eggelinus, whom he used, but at times 'combined' with Jordan (see Introduction above). D'Ailly here follows Thomas; d'Ailly, *Tract*., 1,2,3 (166), and thus Biel's citation of Thomas and d'Ailly indicate his sources, though Jordan, who does not cite Thomas, cannot be excluded as a possible intermediary, especially as it is clear that d'Ailly did know and use Jordan's text.

16 Luc. 1:49; vanum … eius Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83/9 dub. 1 (1848a,43–46)

17 Non … habeatur Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,5,19 (109,208); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:9 (104a); Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 ad 1 (1849b,1–6); cf. d'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,3,1 (168): "Quantum ad tres primas, sciendum est, quod in intellectu literali earundem (sicut dicit Aug. in lib. de ser. Domini in monte) cum dicimus, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, non hoc petitur, quasi nomen Dei non semper sit sanctum: sed ut sanctum ab omnibus habeatur; et hoc pertinet ad Dei gloriam in omnibus propagandam."

18 Ps. 75:2. The Hebrew text in the Vulgate reads: *Cognoscetur in Iudaea Deus in Israhel magnum nomen eius*. with Jordan following the LXX. The NJB reads: *God is acknowledged in Judah, his name is great in Israel* (Ps. 76:1).

19 Non … agnoscitur Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,5,19 (109,208–209)

20 pertinet … propgandam Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 ad 1 (1849b,6–8)

21 sanctificetur … glorificent Chrysost. *hom. in Matth*. 19 (279); *cf. CCC* 4,2,3,1 (2808).

22 Is. 9:6. The NJB reads: *and this is the name he has been given, 'Wonder-Counsellor, Mighty-God, Eternal-Father, Prince-of-Peace'*.

23 Hoc … tincti Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 81,8 resp. (1836a,31–35)

24 Apoc. 7:14. The Vulgate reads: *hii sunt qui veniunt de tribulatione magna et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni*. Jordan's citation has *isti* rather than *hii*, and *venerunt* rather than *veniunt*, a reading that follows the Greek text (*textus graecus*). The NJB reads: *These are the people who have been through the great trial; they have washed their robes white again in the blood of the Lamb*.

25 Apoc. 1:5. Jordan inverted the word order of the Vulgate here, which reads: *lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo*. The NJB reads: [*He*] *has washed away our sins with his blood*.

26 dicimur … terra Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 81,8 resp. (1836a,22–26).

27 Lev. 11:44. The NJB reads: *You have been sanctified and have become holy because I am holy*. This translation omits the imperative of the Vulgate's *estote* followed by the conjunction of consequence *quoniam*, which I have tried to preserve in the translation here.

28 Ps. 47:11. Jordan again follows the LXX here with the exception of using a synonym *ita* rather than the Vulgate's *sic*, and *ita* is not given as a variant of the Vulgate text. Mss C and D read *sit*, which seems to be a mis-reading of the Vulgate's *sic*, since paleographically *sit* is clear in the manuscripts; while 'c' and 't' are interchangeable in medieval Latin, they are less so as terminal letters and in both manuscripts 't' is clearly written; *sit* does make since in this case as it supplies a verb for the phrase. The NJB reads: *Both your name and your praise, God, are over the whole wide world*.

29 dicimur … firmati Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 81,8 resp. (1836a,31–35). Jordan here is basing his treatment on Thomas, but constructs his own text. Much the same can be said of Biel as well, though there is no clear evidence to indicate whether Biel was drawing on Thomas or on Jordan: "Huic ethimologie nominis consonat etiam illa qua dicitur: *sanctus*, id est, sanguine tinctus, sic sanctus est qui christi sanguine mundatus est, secundum illud Ad Eph. i: *Habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionemque peccatorum*. Dicitur quoque sanctus a sancio sancis quod est firmare, quasi firmus in fide et mandatorum dei ac consiliorum observantia." Biel, *CME* 66 (89); cf.: "Dicendum quod nomen sanctitatis duo videtur importare. Uno quidem modo, munditiam; et huic significatione competit nomen graecum, dicitur enim agios, id est sine terra. Alio modo importat firmitatem; unde apud antiquos sancta dicebantur quae legibus erant munita ut violari non deberent; unde et dicitur aliquid esse sancitum quia est lege firmatum. Potest etiam secundum Latinos hoc nomen sanctus ad munditiam pertinere, ut intelligatur sanctus quasi sanguine tinctus, eo quod antiquitus illi qui purificari volebant sanguine hostiae tingebantur, ut Isidorus dicit in libro *Etymol*." Thomas, *STh*. II/II 81,8 resp. (1836a,22–35).

30 Here and above, cf.: "'Sanctificetur nomen tuum' etc. Hoc rogamus ut nos sancti simus et iusti, et recedamus a malo et semper faciamus bonum … In patria uero nomen Patris sanctificatur inf iliis quia sanxitur et confirmatur in eis ut numquam possint a filiationis gratia separari." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48,19 (518,305–315).

31 Matth. 1:21. Jordan cites Matth. 2, but the text is found in the Vulgate in Matth. 1:21. This could indicate a differing chapter division; or, it could simply be Jordan having cited the text from memory. The printed edition S reads *in Matthew 1*. The NJB reads: *and you must name him Jesus, because he is the one who is to save his people from their sins*.

32 Matth. 23:9. The Vulgate reads: *unus enim est Pater vester qui*. Jordan omits the *enim*, which though is preserved in ms F. The NJB reads: *since you have only one Father* (Mt. 23:10).

33 Matth. 1:16. The NJB reads: *of her* [*scil*. Mary] *was born Jesus, who is called Christ*.

34 *Non invenitur*; hoc … opere Cf. Hen. *Exp*. fol. 183r: "Petmus ergo ut nomen dei benedictum sanctificetur in nobis per fervidam dilectionem in corde, per devotam supplicationem in ore et per virtuosam executionem in opere, ut sic ab eius laude numquam cessemus, nec in mente, ore, nec opere." *Cf. CCC* 4,2,3,1 (2812). Biel here seems to follow Jordan, as I have found no intermediate source: "Sit nomen tuum semper memorie nostre impressum, sit

mel in ore, cithara in aure, iubilus in corde, sit nominis tui gloria in nostro intellectu per veram cognitionem, in affectu per sanctam dilectionem, in memoria per firmam adhesionem, in ore per publicam confessionem, et opere per fidelem imitationem, sicque sanctificetur per benevolentiam in corde, per reverentiam in ore, per perseverantiam in opere." Biel, *CME* 66 (93). It should also be noted that neither Biel, nor Henry reference Bernard for this citation. D'Ailly seems to have followed Jordan: "Est igitur prima petitio, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, in qua petimus sanctificationem nominis Dei, id est, gloriam suam, ut scilicet in nobis sanctificetur, in nobis honoretur, in intellectu per veram cognitionem, in affectu per sanctam dilectionem, in memoria per firmam inhaesionem. Item, ut sanctificetur per benevolentiam in corde, per reverentiam in ore, per perseverantiam in opere." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,3,2 (169). The Munich Broadsheet followed Jordan here too: "*Sanctificetur nomen tuum*: misterium nostre redemptionis; privilegium filialis adoptionis; sacrificium nostre reconciliationis; propter quod Iesus appellaris; pater nominaris; Christus nuncuparis; sic autem sanctificetur ut sit nobis per benevolentiam iubilus in corde; per reverentiam mel in ore; per efficaciam exemplar in opere." *PNcES*.

35 Ier. 13:9. The NJB reads: *In the same way I shall ruin the pride of Judah, the immense pride of Jerusalem*.

36 Cf. Ier. 13:2–8. The NJB reads: *And so, as Yahweh had ordered, I bought a waistcloth and put it round my waist. As second time the word of Yahweh came to me, 'Take the waistcloth that you have bought and are wearing round your waist. Up, go to the Euphrates and hide it there in a hole in the rock.' So I went and hid it by the Euphrates as Yahweh had ordered me. A long time later, Yahweh said to me, 'Up, go to the Euphrates and fetch the waistcloth I ordered you to hid there.' So I went to the Euphrates, and I searched, and I took the waistcloth from the place where I had hidden it. And there was the waistcloth ruined, no use for anything*. (Jer. 13:2–8). This passage come directly before the one concerning the pride of Juda and Israel and provides the context for Jordan's citation directly above and directly below.

37 Ier. 13:11. The phrase *omnem domum Israhel et omnem domum Juda* of the Vulgate Jordan has 'truncated' by omitting the second *omnem domum*, which though is preserved in the reading of S. The NJB reads: *For just as a waistcloth clings to a man's waist, so I made the whole House of Israel and the whole house of Juda cling to me*. Here the subject of the clinging is the House of Israel and the House of Juda, which God makes to cling to Him. The Vulgate has the direct action placed with God, so that it is God who clings the House of Israel and the House of Juda to Himself, rather than God making Israel and Juda cling to Him. The difference might be small, but not without significance regarding the location of the verbal action.

38 Iob 41:25. The Vulgate text reads *super universos filios*, rather than Jordan's *omnes filios*. Jordan's reading, though, is in keeping with the textual variants of the tradition, represented by the *Cavensis*, a sixth to seventh-century manuscript from Italy now in the Vatican (Pal. lat. 24), and the tradition stemming from Alcuin. The NJB reads: *of all the lordly beasts he is king* (Job 41:26). The text here is referring to the Leviathan of Job 40:25, which continues through chapter 41. For Jordan, the king ruling over all the sons of pride is the devil himself, which is certainly in keeping with, or at least is not contradictory to, the Leviathan of Job.

39 Ioh. 8:44. Jordan cites John 13, but the text is John 8:44. Manuscript G reads *Iohannis octavo*. Jordan was most likely citing from memory here, though it is possible that the descrepancy

between John 8 and John 13 was a scribal error, misreading viii for xiii, which could have been done at some point and then simply copied by the other scribes, with then the scribe of G having 'corrected' the mistake. Manuscript D simply has iii, having skipped the v, or the x, altogether, yielding the reading of John 3. Jordan also has *your father* (*patre vestro*) whereas the Vulgate simply has *father*, not including the *your*, and not listing any such reading in the apparatus. The majority of ms witnesses here used also omit the *vestro*, which though is attested by A, E, and S. The *vestro* though is by all means implied in the Vulgate's text, even if not explicitly here stated, as is clear by the continuation of the verse: *vos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris vestri vultis facere* (*you are from your father, the devil, and want to do the desires of your father*). The NJB reads: *You are from your father, the devil, and you prefer to do what your father wants*.

40 Cf. Soph. 2:10. The Vulgate text reads: *hoc eis eveniet pro superbia sua quia blasphemaverunt et magnificati sunt super populum Domini exercituum*. The NJB reads: *This will be the price of their pride for having taunted and boasted over the people of Yahweh Sabaoth* (Zeph. 2:10).

41 Cf. Ier. 3:4–5. Jordan here is drawing on Jerome. Jeremiah 3:4–5 reads: *ergo saltim amodo voca me pater meus dux virginitatis meae tu est, numquid irasceris in perpetuum aut perseverabis in finem ecce locuta es et fecisti mala et potuisti* (NJB reads: *From now on, do not cry out at me, 'My father! My beloved ever since I was young! Will he keep up his anger for ever, maintain his wrath to the end?' You say this but still go on sinning, being so obstinate*). Jerome comments on the second part of the verse: *ecce locuta es et fecisti mala et potuisti*: "Pro verbis poenitentiae, verbis superbiae blasphemasti et implesti cogitationem tuam malam, et ostendisti contra virum fortitudinem tuam, ut possis facere quod sermone tractasti." Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri sex*, 1 (*PL* 24, col. 700C–D). While Jordan cites Jeremiah, his text, *verbis superbis blasphemasti*, is quoting Jerome. Manuscripts B, C, D, and G read, with Jerome's text, *verbis superbie*, rather than *verbis superbis*, 'with words of pride', rather than 'with prideful words'.

42 Rom. 3:24–25. The NJB reads: *and all are justified by the free gift of his grace through being set free in Christ Jesus. God appointed him as a sacrifice for reconciliation, thorugh faith, by the shedding of his blood*. The 'all who are justified' as I translated the passage, or the 'all are justified' as in the NJB is implied by Rom. 3:23: *Omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloriam Dei* (NJB: *all have sinned and lack God's glory*). However, whereas Paul is explicit that all have sinned, the *justificati* as such does not mean in and of itself 'all are justified', but those who are justified, are the justified; to translate *justificati* as 'all are justified' is going beyond the text of the Vulgate, and the Greek. The Greek reads: δικαιούμενοι without further qualification, whereas in Rom. 3:23 the Greek, as the Vulgate, explicitly designates the universal 'all': πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον. Thus I have translated the passage as 'all who are justified are justified …' that is, those who are justified are justified by the grace of God.

43 Ioh. 1:12. The NJB reads: *he gave power to become children of God to those who believed in his name*.

44 Cf. Heb. 11, which treats Cain and Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, Joseph, Moses, Gedeon, Barac, Samson, Jephthae, Samuel, and David. The text then comments: *et hii omnes testimonio fidei probati non acceperunt repromissionem Deo pro nobis melius aliquid providente ut ne sine nobis consummarentur* (Hbr. 11:39–40); NJB: *These all won*

acknowledgement through their faith, but they did not receive what was promised, since God had made provision for us to have something better, and they were not to reach perfection except with us. In a commentary on Paul's letter attributed to Jerome, commenting on Romans 8:23, Jerome noted: "Non solum autem illa, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes: manifeste edocuit, quia non de irrationali, vel insensibili creatura sermonem fecerit, quae non participat Spiritum sanctum, sed de sanctis dicit, qui Deo placuerunt naturali lege, similiter et Moysi. Discipuli autem Christi primitias dicuntur habere spiritus, id est, prima et praeclara charismata, per quae ditaverunt omnem terram. Non enim tanta fuit gratia ante legem et in lege Moysi. Et quod priores sint discipuli Christi, Hebraeis scribens docet: Sed et hi omnes testimonio fidei probati non acceperunt repromissionem, Deo pro nobis melius aliquid providente: et ne sine nobis consummarentur." Hieronymus (?), *In epistolam ad Romanos*, 8 (PL 30, col. 683C–D). It seems clear that Jordan was using Jerome (see note 41 above), and may have had this passage in mind, relating thus Romans and Hebrews.

45 *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:9 (IV,25A); cf. Hen. *Exp*. fol. 183^{v}: "Hic autem notabiliter advertandum quod sicut dicit Glossa super isto verbo: per hoc quod dicimus *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, spiritum sapientie postulamus, cuius virtute nobis conceditur, ne a sanctificatione huius nominis umquam discrepemus, sed patris celestis nomen in nobis tamquam in veris filiis et vita et moribus ostendamus."

46 Cf. Hen. *Exp*. fol. 183^{v}–184^{r}: "Hoc autem donum sapientie causat in nobis quendam gustum et experientiam divine suavitatis, quod bene senserit sapiens cum dicebat: O quam suavis et bonus est spiritus tuus in nobis domine. Hec mentis suavitas virtute doni sapientie in nobis consurgit ex tribus. Primo, ex divine virtutis clara cognitione et sue bonitats intima dilectione. Quidem bene experta fuit sponsa cum dicent Cantica 5: *Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus electus ex milibus*. [Ct. 5:10] Ipse dicetur *candidus* propter nitorem divine veritatis; *rubicundus* propter ruborem divine caritatis, qua nos ardentissime dilexit; sed dicitur *electus ex milibus* propter dulcorem divine suavitatis, cuius oblectatio et suavitas in infinitam excedit, sed delectationem, que sui rebus creatis poterat mundari. Secundo, causatur hec suavitas ex passionis Christi devota meditatione, quod bene experta fuerat sponsa cum diceret: *fasciculus murre dilectus meus michi inter verba mea commorabitur*. [Ct. 1:12] Per *fasciculus murre* intelligit congeriem omnis amaritudinis passionis dominice, quam mens devota in se debet aggregare et revolvere per devotam recordationem et intimam sui cordis compassionem. Significanter dicit quod debet *inter verba* commorari; verba mentis devote sunt recordatio omnium penalitatum que Christus ex nimia caritate pro nobis sustinuit. Et devota gratiarum actio quam Christus iugiter debemus exoluere pro tantis beneficiis, que nobis ex intima caritate exibuit, in hoc potissime quod pro nobis amarissime pati voluit ut nos ab eterna morte misericorditer liberaret. Tertio causatur ex quadam divine bonitatis pregustatione, quod bene fuit experta sponsa dum dixit *Botrus cypri dilectus meus michi, in vineis Engaddi*. [Ct. 1:13] *Botrus cypri* continet vinum dilectissimum inter omnia vina creata. Ideo per hoc recte intellexit quidem dilectissima pregustatio divine bonitatis, que menti devote infunditur in actu contemplationis."

47 Sir. 24:20. The NJB reads: *like choice myrrh, have breathed out a scent*.

48 Ps. 115:12. The Vulgate reads: *quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi*; the NJB reads: *What return can I make to Yaweh for his generosity to me?*

49 dulcedo … amem Hug.sv. *Ar.An.* (967C–968B)

50 Certe … provideat Hug.sv. *Ar.An.* (968C)

51 Wis. 16:21. The Vulgate reads: *dulcedinem tuam quam in filios habes ostendebat*. Six manuscripts have *ostendas*, but *ostendisti* is not listed as a variant, yet is in the second person. The NJB reads: *And the substance you gave showed your sweetness towards your children* (Wis. 16:21), though Jordan did not include the Vulgate's *substantia enim tua*.

52 Ct. 2:14. The NJB reads: *let me hear your voice; for your voice is sweet*.

53 Prov. 24:13–14. Verse 13 in the Vulgate begins: *comede fili mi* …; manuscripts F and S have the *fili mi*; two manuscripts of the Vulgate, the *Amiatinus* (Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenz, Amiatino I) of the eighth century and the *Cavensis* (Cava, Archivio della Badia I) of the ninth century, omit the *mi*. The variants in Jordan's manuscripts could thus reflect variants in the manuscripts of the Vulgate, rather than simple scribal omission. The NJB reads: *Eat honey, my child, since it is good; honey that drips from the comb is sweet to the taste; and so, for sure, will wisdom be to your soul*.

54 Matth. 5:9

55 beatitudo … sapientie Aug. *de serm.dom.* 1,4,11 (10,217*sqq*); ibid. 2,11,38 (129,862–863)

56 Ps. 54:19. The NJB reads: *he ransoms me and gives me peace* (Ps. 55:18).

57 Is. 48:22. The Vulgate reads: *non est pax dicit Dominus impiis*. Four manuscripts though have the word order Jordan gave: *non est pax impiis dicit dominus*. The NJB reads: *There is no peace, says Yahweh, for the wicked*.

58 Matth. 5:9. The NJB reads: *Blessed are the peacemakers; they shall be recognized as children of God*.

59 Col. 3:15–16. The Vulgate reads: *et pax Christi exultet in cordibus vestris in qua et vocati estis in uno corpore et grati estote verbum Christi habitet in vobis abundanter in omni sapientia docentes et commonentes vosmet ipsos psalmis hymnis canticis spiritualibus in gratia cantantes in cordibus vestribus Deo*. Jordan here cites the first phrase of Col. 3:15 and then 'skips' to the second half of Col. 3:16. Jordan's reading *pax dei* is attested to by the *Sangermanensis* text (Paris, BnF lat. 115533) of the ninth century; his reading *et canticis* is followed by the Clementine edition, published in 1592, 1593, and 1598; Jordan's reading *et hymnis* is not listed as a variant of the Vulgate text, and manuscript E omits the *et*; likewise no variant of the Vulgate text is given for Jordan's *nosmetipsos*, though D and S, as the Vulgate, read *vosmetipsos*; reading 'n' though for 'v' is very easy to do; I have tried to be especially vigilant paleographically in such cases; some scribes are clearer in distinguishing than others, the latter of whom often simply use two minums (i.e. two strokes) for both 'n' and 'v'; the former clearly demarcate the two. The NJB reads: *And may the peace of Christ reign in your hearts, because it is for this that you were called together in one body. Always be thankful. Let the Word of Christ, in all its richness, find a home with you. Teach each other, and advise each other, in all wisdom. With gratitude in your hearts sing psalms and hymns and inspired songs to God*. In citing Col. 3:16, Jordan's text 'mixes' the first ('our') and second ('your') persons, writing *commonentes nosmetipsos* followed by *in cordibus vestris*; I have used the first person plural 'we' for the phrase, *commending us in grace to sing in our hearts*, rather than 'litterally' following Jordan's text: *commending us in grace to sing in your hearts*, though the NJB, as the Vulgate, uses the second person plural. Jordan usually uses the first person plural himself in addressing his audience (e.g. here above: "In the first place, I say that peace redeems the soul, or more powerfully shows

forth our redemption. Wherefore the Psalms: *He redeems my soul in peace*. And thus peace is the effect of our redemption in so far as through redemption we are placed in peace"), and thus my translation sought to be in keeping with Jordan's form of address to his own audience.

60 The *PNcES* here, as in each petition, repeated Jordan's exposition of the vices, virtues, gifts, beatitudes, and fruits: "Hac petitione superbia excluditur; fides introducitur; donum sapientie largitur; beatitudo pacis obtinetur; duo fructus spiritus sancti: fides et pax promerentur."

Lecture 4

1 Matth. 6:10

2 Adveniat … debetur Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 184^{v}: "*Adveniat regnum tuum*. Hec est secunda petitio que nos atollit in affectum ferventissimum, quo iugiter nobis advenire regnum patris celestis ferventissime expotamus dicens: *Adveniat* etc. Convenienter sequitur ad primam ut post adoptionem filiorum dei petamus regnum ipsius quod proprie filiis dei debetur." ut … debetur *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B).

3 Prima … est Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh*. II/II 83,9 dub. 1 (1848b,1–4).

4 non … adveniat Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,6,20 (109,427–429).

5 regnum … regnemus Aug. *epist*. 130,11,21 (63,11–12)

6 Est … tuum Hen. *Exp*. fol. 184^{v}: "Et est sensus *adveniat*, idest, ad nos veniat regnum tuum." Here we see too another indication of d'Ailly's possible reliance on Jordan: "Sequitur secunda petitio, *Adveniat regnum tuum*; in qua petimus beatitudinem nostram, scilicet regnum gloriae. Adveniat, id est, ad nos veniat regnum tuum." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,4,1 (170).

7 Ioh. 6:44. The Vulgate reads: *nemo potest venire ad me nisi Pater qui misit me traxerit eum*. Jordan's text reads *venit* rather than *potest venire*, which is not listed as a variant of the Vulgate text. Jordan also omitted the *qui misit me* and has *illum* rather than the Vulgate's *eum*. Manuscripts B, F, and G, and S read *eum*. Jordan may well have been quoting from memory here. The NJB reads: *No one can come to me unless drawn by the Father who sent me*. Cf.: "Veniat igitur ad nos ut nos hinc absumat, quo a presenti et futura miseria liberemur. Sed quomodo petimus nobis hoc advenire, cum potius nos vadamus ad ipsum? Responsio: Non possumus venire ad hoc regnum nisi ipsum prius ad nos veniat." Biel, *CME* 67 (100). This again is a passage that indicate's Biel's direct borrowing from Jordan, as no intermediary source has been found. This passage also shows how Biel based his treatment on Jordan, yet made it his own.

8 Matth. 13:41. Jordan does not cite the rest of the verse and its continuation in Matt. 13:42: … *et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem et mittent eos in caminum ignis ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium*. The NJB reads: *The Son of man will send his angels and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of falling and all who do evil, and throw them into the blazing furnace, where there will be weeping and grinding of teeth*. Jordan's focus here though is on the 'Church militant' and he does make the distinction; his readers moreover would have known the 'rest of the verse' well indeed, so that here, as in many places, Jordan does not 'need' to cite the entire verse, but rather simply is 'bringing to it memory' with the point being made.

9 regnum … dicitur Cf. Ps.Greg. *ex.Al*. 63 (1161C); Greg.M *in evang*. 11,4 (76,116)

10 Luc. 17:21; cf. Luc. 10:9, which in the Vulgate reads: *adpropinquavit in vos regnum Dei*. The N JB reads: *the kingdom of God is among you* (Lk 17:21); *The Kingdom of God is very near you* (Lk 10:9). The Vulgate's *intra vos* can certainly be translated as *among you*; here though Jordan is clear that he is speaking about the Kingdom of God within the soul, and then used John 17:21 as his reference; thus I have translated the *intra vos* as *within you*.

11 Matth. 25:34. The Vulgate reads: *venite benedicti Patris mei possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi*. Only S of our witnesses uses *possidete* rather than Jordan's *percipite*, which is not listed as a variant of the Vulgate text. The NJB reads: *Come, you whom my Father has blessed, take as your heritage the kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world*. Cf.: "'Adueniat regnum tuum'. Hoc rogamus ut semper Christus regnet in nobis et non peccatum, ut nos paratos inueniat quando animam a corpore iubebit exire. Regnum autem Dei dicitur et militans Ecclesia quia regitur, et triumphans Ecclesia quia regnat. Item regnum Dei dicitur et gratia fidei et gloria spei. Rursus regnum Dei dicitur et intellectus Scripture et locus patrie." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48, 17 (517, 274–280). D'Ailly put forth a four-fold understanding, which though may have been derived from Jordan: "Hic autem est advertendum, quod regnum Dei quadruplex est: scilicet, sacrae scripturae … Secundo regnum divinae gratiae … Tertio regnum universalis ecclesiae … Quarto regnum caelestis gloriae." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,4,2 (170).

12 Apoc. 2:9. The synagogue of Satan here consists of those *who falsely claim to be Jews* (NJB Rev. 2:9); the Vulgate reads: … *qui se dicunt Iudeos esse et non sunt sed sunt synagoga Satanae*.

13 Rom. 6:12. The NJB reads: *That is why you must not allow sin to reign over your mortal bodies*. That Latin uses the subjunctive, *regnet*, though without the causal connection of the NJB, i.e. *That is why you must …*; the Vulgate though reads: *non ergo regnet …*, preceded by the phrase: *viventes autem Deo in Christo Iesu* (NJB: *… but alive for God in Christ Jesus*), Rom. 6:11. Jordan omits the *ergo*, which is not listed as a variant of the Vulgate text. The Vulgate could perhaps best be translated as *lest sin reign in your mortal body* when read following Rom. 6:11: *living however in God in Christ Jesus*, or as *sin therefore should not reign in your mortal body*.

14 Rom. 5:21. The Vulgate reads: *ut sicut regnavit peccatum in morte ita et gratia regnet per iustitiam in vitam aeternam per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum*. Jordan's *in mortem* here is listed as a variant in five manuscripts of the Vulgate text. The contrast Paul made here was that between the 'death' of sin and the 'eternal life' of grace. Jordan omits the second part of the verse, though S adds *in vitam eternam*, making the contrast that between 'death' and 'righteousness', concerning our souls in this life in interpreting the Kingdom of God in our souls, i.e., our souls being ruled over either by sin, which is death; or by grace, which is eternal life, though Jordan omits the reference to eternal life, contrasting the death of sin with the righteousness of grace. The NJB reads: *so that as sin's reign brought death, so grace was to rule through saving justice that leads to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord*.

15 Apoc. 16:10. The NJB reads: *The fifth angel emptied his bowl over the throne of the beast and its whole empire was plunged into darkness* (Rev. 16:10). The Vulgate text reads simply *quintus*, rather than *quintus angelus* (with though *angelus* by all means implicit therein) though the *Clementina* edition (Rome 1592, 1593, 1598) reads *quintus angelus*, following in this

sense Jordan's text (not suggesting here any influence of Jordan's text on the *Clementina*; I am simply pointing to the variant readings in the tradition).

16 Ps. 78:6. Jordan here follows the LXX. The Vulgate text does not have the vocative *Domine* as does Jordan, which is omitted too in our ms F. The *Domine* though is implied as Ps. 78:6 continues on from 78:5: *usquequo Domine irasceris in finem accendetur velut ignis zelus tuus //78:6// effunde iram tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt*. The 'addition', or 'repetition' of *Domine* in verse 6 is not listed as a variant of the Vulgate text, though all our manuscript witnesses here, with the exception of F, include it, as does S. The NJB reads: *Pour out your anger on the nations who do not acknowledge you …* (Ps. 79:6).

17 Cf. D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,4,2 (170): "Et secundum hoc, quadrupliciter potest exponi; *adveniat*, id est, ad nos veniat regnum tuum, sacrae scripturae, per veram cognitionem, ut destruat regnum erroris et ignorantiae; Regnum etiam gratiae divinae per spiritualem inhabitationem, ut destruat regnum peccati et malitiae. Regnum quoque universalis ecclesiae, per Christianae fidei declarationem et exaltationem, ut destruat regnum Antichristi, et falsae Synagogae. Et Regnum tandem caelestis gloriae per aeternam praemiationem, ut destruat regnum praesentis et futurae malitiae."

18 Generaliter … corpore Hier. *in Matth*. 1 (36,758–761)

19 Regnum … regnemus Cypr. *domin.orat*. 13 (97,220–223)

20 Notandum … miserie *Cf. VC* 1,37 (170a): "Deinde sequitur secunda petitio: *Adveniat regnum tuum*, scilicet Ecclesiae; id est, manifestetur hominibus, ut tu qui nunc regnas, semperque regnasti in terris, ab hominibus ignorantibus regnare percipiaris et cognoscaris, quibus regnum Dei quamvis nunquam discedat de terris, tamen absens est, sicut lux praesens abest caecis et oculos claudentibus. Vel *adveniat regnum tuum*, scilicet gratiae, quo quotidie regnas in Sanctis, quod sit cum diaboli imperio per extinctionem vitiorum de cordibus nostris pulso, tu in nobis per virtutum flagrantiam incipias dominari, ut non regnet diabolus, aut mundus, vel carnalis affectus seu ullum peccatum in nobis, sed tu solus sine illis. Vel *adveniat regnum tuum*, scilicet gloriae, quod praestituto tempore omnibus est perfectis, ac Dei filiis generaliter repromissum. Ubi desiderium nostrum ad futurum regnum excitemus, ut nobis et ad nos veniat, et in eo regnare mereamur. Nam velimus, nolimus utique adveniet et utinam paratos inveniat! Unde Chrysostomus: Hoc quoque gratissimi omnino servi est, neque, inhaerere praesentibus, neque magnum aliquid ea quae videntur putare, sed ad Patrem semper urgeri, semperque in futura gestire. Quod certe de optima oritur conscientia, et mente terrenis omnibus exuta. Qui enim isto amore succenditur, et hoc habet desiderium, neque hujus opibus et benignis inflari poterit, neque adversis et tristibus humiliari, sed tanquam in ipso coelo habitans et conversans, ab utraque erutus est in aequalitate. Et iterum: Sed magnae fiduciae et sincerae conscientiae est hob Domini regnum, ut adveniat confidenter optare. Et idcirco quia ut regnum Dei veniat semper oramus, tales nos in fide Domini et mandatis ejus exhibere debemus, ut futuro regno digni essse possimus: haec Chrysostomus. Et sic regnum Dei est triplex, scilicet in Ecclesia, et in anima, atque in vita aeterna; nec possumus ad Deum venire per gloriam, nisi ipse primo veniat ad nos per gratiam." Cf.: "Adveniat, id est, ad nos veniat regnum tuum, scilicet sacre scripture per veram cognitionem, ut destruat regnum erroris et ignorantie; regnum divine gratie per spiritualem inhabitationem, ut destruat regnum peccati et malicie; regnum universalie ecclesie per christiane fidei declarationem et exaltationem, ut destruat regnum antichristi et false synagoge; regnum celestis glorie per eternam premiationem, ut

destruatur regnum presentis et future miserie." Biel, *CME* 67 (118). Biel here has a four-fold kingdom of God, whereas Jordan has a three-fold. Eggelinus had a five-fold exposition of the kindgom of God. Biel follows Eggelinus in exposting the kingdom of God as referring to 1. the reign of the Scriptures (*regnum scripture*); 2.the reign of divine grace (*regnum divine gratie*); 3. the reign of the universal church (*regnum universalie ecclesie*); and 4. the reign of heavenly glory (*regnum celestis glorie*). Eggelinus had these four, though he had the *regnum ecclesie* as the second and the *regnum gratie* as the third, and he added a fifth: the reign of beatitude (*regnum beatitudinis*); Eggelinus, fol. 217va–218^{vb}. Jordan then had 1. the *regnum ecclesie*; 2. the *regnum gratie*; and 3. the *regnum glorie*. Eggelinus might have been drawing on Jordan and then expanding his exposition, which then Biel followed though seemingly viewing Eggelinus's fifth exposition, namely, the *regnum beatitudinis* to be included within the *regnum celestis glorie*. In any case, Biel's exposition here is closer to Eggelinus's than it is to Jordan's, though Biel claims to be following the exposition of Pierre d'Ailly, which is indeed the source closest to that of Biel; see note 17 above. Cf.: "*Adveniat regnum tuum*: ecclesie, gratie, glorie; videlicet recte credendo, sane intelligendo, pure intendendo; ut destruatur: synagoga Satane, peccata malicie, tenebre et miserie." *PNcES*.

21 Iob 41:25. The Vulgate reads *super universos filios* whereas Jordan has *super omnes filios*. Jordan's reading is listed as a variant of the Vulgate text, witnessed by the *Cavensis*, Archivio della Badia I (14), 9th century; the *Laureshamensis*, Vatican City, Bibl. Apost., Pal. lat. 24, 6th–7th century; and by the *consensus codicum* according to the exemplar of Alcuin's scriptorium. The NJB reads: *of all the lordly beasts he is king*.

22 Per … aliorum Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 185^{r}: "Sciendum autem quod per hanc petitionem excluditur avaritia. Avarus enim non querit regnum dei sed magis regnum et gloriam huius mundi, quia nummum pro deo colit, ut Augustinus dicit. Ideo dicit Apostolus quod avaritia est idolorum servitus. Et licet quodlibet peccatum mortale contrarietur regno dei et sanctificationi divini nomini et etiam divine voluntati, specialiter tamen avaritia quia regno dei specialiter contrariatur propter inclinationem affectus ad ipsa terrena quid non contingit."

23 Eph. 5:5. The entire verse reads: *hoc enim scitote intellegentes quod omnis fornicator aut inmundus aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei*. The NJB reads: *For you can be quite certain that nobody who indulges in sexual immorality or impurity or greed—which is worshipping a false god—can inherit the kingdom of God*.

24 Sir. 10:9. The NJB reads: *What has dust and ashes to pride itself on?* The text here is obscure and the descrepancies between the NJB and the Vulgate are significant. The full verse of the Vulgate reads: *avaro autem nihil est scelestius quid superbit terra et cinis*.

25 2 Pet. 2:14. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *oculos habentes plenos adulterio et incessabiles delicti pellicentes animas instabiles cor exercitatum avaritiae habentes maledictionis filii*. The NJB reads: *with their eyes always looking for adultery, people with an insatiable capacity for sinning, they will seduce any but the most stable soul. Where greed is concerned they are at their peack of fitness. They are under a curse*. The Vulgate's *maledictio* can certainly be translated as 'curse', but it can also mean 'condemnation', which is closer to the sense Jordan is getting at here; the avaricious are 'sons of condemnation', and thus are 'cursed', standing opposed to the Kingdom of God.

26 Spes … precedentibus Lombardus 3 *Sent*. dist 26 cap 1 (159,17–18).

27 Rom. 8:24. The Vulgate reads *spes autem* rather than Jordan's *spes enim*, with no listing of variants. The NJB reads: *in hope, not visibly present, or we should not be hoping*.

28 spiritus … videatur *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25C)

29 Hoc enim … intendendum Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 185r-v: "Hoc donum etiam operatur in nobis, per que disponimur ad regnum dei consequendum. Nam primo, mentem instruit ad bene sane intelligendum, que sunt fidei. Secundo, intellectum illustrat ad recte credendum. Tertio, mentem purgat ad pure intelligendum."

30 Ps. 31:8. The NJB reads: *I shall instruct you and teach you the way to go* (Ps. 32:8). Jordan follows the LXX here; the Hebrew text in the Vulgate reads: *doceam te et monstrabo tibi viam per quam ambules*.

31 2 Cor. 5:7. The Vulgate text reads: *per fidem enim ambulamus et non per speciem*. The NJB reads: *guided by faith and not yet by sight*. The *ambulamus* here echoes the *ambules* of Ps. 31:8, which Jordan had just cited, though Jordan followed the LXX rather than the Hebrew, which is reinforced by the 'way' (*via*) by which we progress which Jordan here refers to with his *quedam via* by which we progress, *gradimur*, echoing the *gradieris* of Ps. 31:8, to the kingdom of glory, which we do through faith.

32 Ps. 31:8. See note 30 above.

33 Matth. 15:16. The NJB reads: *Even you—don't you yet understand?*

34 Matth. 5:11. The NJB reads: *What goes into the mouth does not make anyone unclean; it is what comes out of the mouth that makes someone unclean*.

35 Matth. 15:16.

36 qui … intelligere Hier. *in Matth.* 2 (131,1504–1506).

37 Ps. 30:17. Jordan is combing two passages here. The first is Ps. 30:17, which in the Vulgate reads: *inlustra faciem tuam super servum tuum*, which in the NJB reads: *let your face shine on your servant* (Ps. 31:16). He then continued with *doce me* etc. This comes from Ps. 118:12, which in the Vulgate reads: *benedictus es Domine doce me iustificationes tuas* (though Ps. 118:26 also reads *doce me iustificationes tuas*); the NJB reads: *Blessed are you Yahweh, teach me your will* (Ps. 119:12). Jordan again follows the LXX. Our witness S reads *iustificationes tuas* rather than etc., which gives further support to the evidence for Jordan citing two psalms here, with the second being Ps. 118:12, whereas the *doce me* etc. is a bit less clear and could, for example, also come from Ps. 24:5: *dirige me in veritatem tuam et doce me quoniam tu est Deus salvator meus*. Psalm 30:17 continues after the passage cited with *salvum me fac in misericordia tua*.

38 Ps. 77:72. The NJB reads: *with a sensitive hand he led them* (Ps. 78:72). The Vulgate text of the LXX reads: *in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos*, which Jordan follows, though omits the *in*, although manuscripts E and G do read *in intellectibus*. The Hebrew text in the Vulgate reads *et in prudentia manuum suarum dux eorum fuit*. Henry of Friemar clarified that *in intellectibus manuum suarum* meant "with the understandings of divine aid" (*id est audiutorii divini*); see text in note 40 below, a text Jordan not only knew, but copied from extensively.

39 Sextus … deum Aug. *serm.* 347,3 (1526)

40 Donum … eos Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 185v: "Hoc enim donum non solum illustrat ad pure intelligendum divinam veritatem, sed etam depurat affectum, ut pura intentione dirigamur in deum, ut dicit Augustinus. Et istud donum intellectus differt a dono sapientie quia sapientia est circa res divinas; intellectus autem circa res creatas prout per eas movemur in

deum. Et quia iste res create sunt multe et varie, ideo propter variam eius directionem istud donum intellectus pluraliter ponitur in scripturis dicente propheta, *Et in intellectibus manuum suarum*, idest, adiutorii divini, *deduxit eos*, scilicet ad consecutionem beatitudinis eterne. Donum autem sapientie nusquam pluraliter ponitur in scriptura."

41 Ps. 77:72.

42 Matth. 5:8.

43 Nam … intellectus Aug. *de serm.dom*. 1,4,11 (10,214–217); cf. ibid. 2,11,38 (129,855–856); *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25B).

44 De … coexigit Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 185v: "Et quia scendum Augustinum cordis munditia sequitur donum intellectus, quia sicut munditia pupille facit ad claritatem visus, ita munditia cordis facit ad claritatem cordis divine visionis. Que quidem cognitio sit intuitiva, tunc pertinet ad donum intellectus prout perfecte habetur in patria; is autem illa cognitio dei sit specularis et imperfecta, tunc pertinet ad donum intellectus prout habetur in via. Et propter differentiam istam dicit Apostolus: *Videmus nunc per speculum et in enigmate*, scilicet in presenta vita, ubi deum cognoscimus per speculum creaturarum, *tunc autem*, scilicet in vita beata, *ipsum videbimus facie ad faciem*. Hec est intuitive et sine medio obscuritatis." Cf. E.L. Saak, "The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols., (Leiden, 1997), 1: 367–404; 388–389.

45 Jordan's exposition is far more detailed and extensive than that given in the *CCC*, which does though link God's kingdom with the beatitudes; *CCC* 4,2,3,2; cf.: "Hac petitione avaritia excluditur; spes introducitur; donum intellectus largitur; beatitudo mundi cordis obtinetur, et duo fructus spiritus sancti gaudium et longanimitas promeretur." *PNcES*.

Lecture 5

1 Matth. 6:10

2 postquam … tua Cf. Chrysost. *hom in Matth*. 19 (279–280).

3 Rom. 7:18. The *Vulgate reads: nam velle adiacet mihi perficere autem bonum non invenio*. The NJB reads: *for though the will to do what is good is in me, the power to do it is not*.

4 Fiat … impleatur Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 185v–186r: "*Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celis et in terra*. Hec est tertio petitio que recto ordine sequitur ad secundam; congruum enim est ut eius regnum postulamus, eius voluntati in omnibus pareamus. Unde hec petitio nostrum affectum atollit ad plenam conformitatem angelorum et civium supernorum, dum ferventi desiderio iugiter acclamamus *fiat voluntas tua*, etc. Et certe non potest esse melior et salubrior oratio quam ut celestibus terrena coequantur in hoc videlicet ut sicut voluntas divina in sanctis angelis infallibiliter impletur in celo, ita etam homines qui sunt in terra in omnibus suis dictis, factis et desideriis suam impleant voluntatem, que fieri non potest nisi voluntas humana divine voluntati perfectissime conformetur. Hec ergo petimus ut per gratiam suam nobis donet ut sicut eius voluntas perfecte impletur a sanctis angelis in celo, ita etiam fiat a nobis qui sumus in terra. Et hec est illa gratia ineffabilis per quam terrena celestibus conformentur." ideo … terra *Cf. VC* 1,37 (170a): "Post haec sequitur petitio tertia: *Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo et in terra*, id est, sicut in Angelis et electis, qui sunt in coelo, perfecta est voluntas tua, ut voluntati tuae conformati praeceptis tuis obediant, et

tibi omnino adhaereant, et inculpate serviant, teque perfruantur; ita fiat in hominibus qui de terra sunt, et in terra conversantur." Here Ludolph was basing his exposition on Jordan. The same may have been the case for Eggelinus, though Eggelinus could have been drawing on Ludolph: "… fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra quam ut sit homines similes angelis et sicut voluntas ab illis impletur in celo ita et hii qui sunt in terra non suam sed ipsius universi faciant voluntatem." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 222ra. Biel then drew on Eggelinus: "Primo modo exponitur: *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Fiat voluntas tua*, ut sint homines similes angelis, et sicut voluntas dei ab illis impletur in celo ita etiam hi qui sunt in terris, non suam sed eius universi faciant voluntatem." Biel, *CME* 69 (144).

5 Non … tutus Cypr. *domin.orat*. 14 (98,245–252).

6 Mich. 6:8. The Vulgate reads: *indicabo tibi o homo quid sit bonum est quid Dominus quaerat a te utique facere iudicium et diligere misericordiam et sollicitum amublare cum Deo tuo*. Jordan omits the *utique*, and has *requirat* rather than *quaerat*, for the latter of which Jordan's reading is attested to by the reading of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 44 of the second half of the eighth century, and is followed by the *Clementina*. The NJB reads: *You have already been told what is right and what Yahweh wants of you. Only this, to do what is right, to love loyalty and to walk humbly with your God*. 'To be discriminate', as I have translated it here differs from most translations, which seem to translate *facere iudicium* as *facere iustitiam*. 'Justice' or 'to act justly' (NIV), is usually *iustitia* in Latin, not as such *iudicium*, which is, as such, simply 'judgment'. Yet the text combines *iudicium* with *facere*, to do, and 'to do judgment' is, in a general sense, rather than in a more specific sense of rendering a sentence, which *iudicium* can also mean, 'to do justice'. The Greek for 'justice', or in Latin, *iustitia*, is usually δικαιοσύνην whereas 'judgment', or *iudicium* in Latin, is κρίμα. Prov. 2:9, for example, distinguishes *iustitia* and *iudicium*, as in the Vulgate: *Tunc intelliges iustitiam, et iudicium, et equitatem, et omnem semitam bonam*, which in the NJB is translated as: *Then you will understand uprightness, equity and fair dealing*, and the Greek here uses both 'judgment'/*iudicium* and righeousness/*iustitia*: τότε συνήσεις δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα καὶ κατορθώσεις πάντας ἄξονας ἀγαθούς. Here in Micha the word used is κρίμα/*iudicium*, which therefore should not be translated as would δικαιοσύνην/*iustitia*. The NRSV has what is perhaps the most commonly known translation, or modernized version of it, namely: *to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God*. I have tried to preserve the Greek and Latin distinction between 'judgment' and 'righteousness' by translating *facere iudicium* in this case as 'to be discriminate' rather than as 'to do justice'. What the NJB translates as *to love loyalty* is in the Greek ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεον. ἔλεον can losely include 'loyalty', as in Jonah 2:8 in the LXX: φυλασσόμενοι μάταια καὶ ψευδῆ ἔλεος αὐτῶν ἐγκατέλιπον, which Jerome translated in the Vulgate as *qui custodium vanitates frustra misericordiam suam derelinquunt* (Ion. 2:9), and which the New American Standard version then translates as 'faithfulness', though most other versions have 'mercy'. The NJB's *to love loyalty* seems to be a bit idiosyncratic and perhaps even misleading in its connotations. For Jordan, 'mercy' is what he is meaning, which is very much in keeping with the Vulgate's *misericordia*. The Vulgate's *sollicitum ambulare* I have translated as 'walk with care', rather than 'to walk humbly' as it usually is translated here. 'Humility' in Latin is *humilitas*, and literally 'to walk humbly' then would be *humilitate ambulare*. 'Humility' was such an important characteristic in the Middle Ages, and for Jordan, that for clarity's sake, I have translated *sollicitum* here 'literally' as 'with care' or 'concern', 'with circumspection'.

I have tried to be faithful to Jordan's meaning, as well as to his citation of Micha, even as my translations here differ from standard translations of this well-known passage.

7 specialiter … glorificationem Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 186r: "Sciendum autem quod deus specialiter vult a nobis tria, scilicet peccatorum conversionem, conversorum sanctificationem, et sanctificatorum glorificationem."

8 Cf. Ez. 18:32. Jordan seems to be conflating three different verses in Ezekiel. Ez 18:32 reads in the Vulgate: *quia nolo mortem morientis dicit Dominus Deus revertimini et vivite*; Ez. 18:23 reads: *numquid voluntatis meae est mors impii dicit Dominus Deus et non ut convertatur a viis suis et vivat*; Ez. 33:11 reads: *dic ad eos vivo ego dicit Dominus Deus nolo mortem impii sed ut revertatur impius a via sua et vivat*. Jordan's version, so to speak, reads: *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat*, using here the *nolo mortem* from Ez 18:32 and 33:11, changing then *impii*, or *morientis*, to *peccatoris*, followed then by the *sed ut* of Ez 33:11 with the addition of *magis* and the *convertatur* from Ez 18:23 and the *et vivat* from Ez 18:23 and 33:11. It seems clear that Jordan was citing from memory here and thus the conflation. The NJB reads: *Would I take pleasure in the death of the wicked—declares the Lord Yahweh—and not prefer to see him renounce his wickedness and live?* (Ez 18:23); *I take no pleasure in the death of anyone—declares the Lord Yahweh—so repent and live!* (18:32); *As I live—declares the Lord Yahweh—I do not take pleasure in the death of the wicked but in the conversion of the wicked who changes his ways and saves his life*. (Ez 33:11).

9 1 Thess. 4:3. The NJB reads: *God wills you all to be holy*. The NJB here has added the *all*, which is neither in the Latin nor the Greek, the latter of which reads: τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ὑμῶν. The 'all' though is included in the following citation of John 6:40.

10 Ioh. 6:40. The complete verse in the Vulgate reads: *haec est enim voluntas Patris mei qui misit me ut omnis qui videt Filium et credit in eum habeat vitam aeternam*. Jordan has skipped the *qui videt Filium et credit in eum*, though manuscripts B and F, and the printed edition S include the omission rather than the etc. *usque*. The NJB reads: *It is my Father's will that whoever sees the Son and believes in him should have eternal life*; cf. comment in note 9 above.

11 Uno … convertantur Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,6,22 (112,480); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:10 (105a); *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B); Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 186r: "Unde hoc verbum *sicut in celo* potest intelligi tripliciter. Uno modo quod per celum intelligantur viri sancti; per terram autem peccatores, ut sit sensus quod sicut voluntas tua sit in sanctis tibi fideliter obsequentibus, ita etiam fiat in terra, idest in ipsis peccatoribus ut scilicet ad te convertantur et tibi servant."

12 Rom. 7:25. The NJB reads: *So it is that I myself with my mind obey the law of God, but in my disordered nature I obey the law of sin*.

13 Rom. 7:22–23. The NJB reads: *In my inmost self I dearly love God's law, but I see that acting on my body there is a different law which battles against the law in my mind*.

14 Alio modo … conversi Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 186r-v: "Secundo modo ut per celum intelligatur spiritus, per terram, caro, ut sit sensus, sicut voluntas tua fit in spiritu in hoc quod tibi non resistit, sed tuis mandatis obsequitur, ita fiat in corpore quod scilicet non resistat spiritui sed ei in actibus famuletur."

15 Cf.: "Secundo modo secundum Glossam, Matth. vi, exponitur de spiritu et carne, sive superior et inferior portione … Tertio modo exponitur de hominibus iustis et peccatoribus … Quarto modo exponitur, intelligendo per celum hoc materiale celum, et per terram

homines in terra constitutos." Biel, *CME* 69 (147). See comment in note 4 abvove. Here Biel though is seemingly drawing on Jordan, as there is no parallel in Eggelinus.

16 Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,6,21–23 (111–113).

17 Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 186ᵛ: "Tertio modo ut per celum intelligantur sancti angeli, per terram homines in terra degentes, ut sit sensus, sicut voluntas tua fit in angelis et beatis in celo, que perfecte tue voluntati conformantur, ita fiat in hominibus, ut hic scilicet in presenti tue voluntatis conformentur ut a te in celesti gloria coronentur. Dicamus ergo *fiat voluntas tua* in peccatorum conversionem, in conversorum sanctificationem, et in sanctificatorum glorificationem."

18 sicut … hominibus *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B); cf.: "'Sicut in celo et in terra,' id est sicut illi qui sunt in celo uoluntatem eius faciunt, sic et nos in terra faciamus; uel sicut in celo et in terra, id est sicut in angelis, ita et in hominibus; uel sicut in perfectis, ita et in conuersis; uel sicut in Christo, ita et in Ecclesia; uel sicut in mente, ita pariter et in carne, ut caro non concupiscat aduersum spiritum." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48, 15 (516,249–254); *CCC* 4,2,3,3; cf. D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,5,1–2 (171). D'Ailly followed the *Glossa* and Durandus here, without citing either. He added his own interpretation as well when he included in interpreting the phrase *sicut in celo et in terra*: "sicut in synderesi, id est, portione superiore rationis, sic in inferiori portione sensualitatis." Ibid. Cf.: "Tertia peticio *Fiat voluntas tua*: vis enim peccatorum conversionem, conversorum sanctificationem, sanctificatorum glorificationem: fiat voluntas tua in peccatorum conversione, in conversorum sanctificatione, in sanctificorum glorificatione. Sicut in celo et in terra: in iustis ita in peccatoribus; in spiritu ita in carne; in angelis ita in hominibus." *PNcES*.

19 sanctificetur … terra Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (712); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:10 (105a).

20 he … presentis Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,10,36–37 (127,795–801); cf. Aug. *serm*. 58,10 (399) et *serm*. 59,5 (402).

21 Vide … voluerit Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (712); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:10 (105a–b). Here Jordan was following Chrysostomus rather closely. Biel seemingly based his exposition on Jordan, while though also appealing to Chrysostomus: "Est tamen in hac clausula notandum quod, secundum Chrysostomum, hec particula: *sicut in celo et in terra*, referri debet ad omnes predictas petitiones, scilicet *sanctificetur nomen tuum; adveniat regnum tuum; fiat voluntas tua*, et sic erit sensus: *Pater noster, qui est in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum*, *sic in celo et in terra*, id est sicut sancti in celo te perfect sanctificant, quia videntes clare et faciliter tuam maiestatem et immensam perfectionem te diligunt, honorant et laudant sine intermissione et fastidio eternaliter, ita da nobis ut adhuc in terra manentes sanctificemus nomen tuum secundum nostre fragilitatis possibilitatem ut vite huius cursu sinit ac permittit." Rusus: "*Pater noster, qui es in celis; adveniat regnum tuum, sicut in celo et in terra*, id est, sicut in celo existentibus regnum glorie tue iam advenit eterna, scilicet beatitudo, ita concede et nobis in terra morantibus ut post huius vite cursum eterna beatitudo conferatur." Demum: "*Pater noster, qui est in celis; fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra*, id est, sicut celi cives conformes sunt tue voluntati, perfecte, scilicet sine quantalibet declinatione, ita dona nobis terrigenis ut non nostram sed tuam voluntatem perficiamus, ut velimus universa que te nos velle cognoscimus, impleamus que precepisti, fugiamus que prohibuisti, affectemus que promisisti, amplectemur que consulisti, opera tua magnificemus, ac te in omnibus benedicemus. Et sic celi cives in tue voluntatis conformitate sunt stabiliti, ut ab illa declinare nequeant, ita et nostra in ea conformitate

que est dicta fortiter perseveret." Biel, *CME* 69 (151–152). The quotation marks here are those supplied by the editors of Biel, even as they do not correspond to Chrysostumus's text: "Communiter autem accipi debet quod ait, *Sicut in caelo et in terra*, id est, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, sicut in caelo, et in terra; *Adveniat regnum tuum*, sicut in caelo, et in terra; *Fiat voluntas tua*, sicut in caelo, et in terra. Et vide quam caute loquutus est. Non dixit pater, sanctifica nomen tuum in nobis, adhuc regnum tuum super nos, fac voluntatem tuam in nobis. Nec iterum dixit, sanctificemus nomen tuum, suscipiamus regnum tuum, faciamus voluntatem tuam. Ne hoc aut dei tantum aut hominis tantum esse videatur sed medie dixit et impersonaliter: id est, *Sanctificetur, adveniat, fiat*: ut utriusque personae opus necessarium habet, et Deus hominem ad justitiam faciendam. Nam sicut homo non potest facere bonum nisi habuerit adiutorium dei, sic nec deus bonum operatur in homine nisi homo voluerit." Ps.Chrysostomus, *Op. imperf. in Matth*., hom. 14 (*PG* 56, 712). Jordan followed his source far more closely than did Biel, while the parallels between Biel and Jordan indicate that Biel was drawing from Jordan to construct his own exposition.

22 Dei … elicere Aug. *in psalm*. 104,17 (1545,17–18).

23 Est … felicitatis Aug. *in psalm*. 104,17 (1545,18).

24 Gen. 26:14–15. The Vulgate reads: *ob haec invidentes ei Palestini omnes puteos quos foderant servi patris illius Abraham illo tempore obstruxerunt implentes humo*. Jordan's text reads *Philistini* for *Palestini*, though S has *Palestini*. No such variant is listed in the Vulgate text. The NJB reads: *The Philistines began to envy him. The Philistines had blocked up all the wells dug by his father's servants—in the days of his father Abraham—filling them with earth*. The Greek reads *Philistini*: δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Φυλιστιιμ καὶ πάντα τὰ φρέατα ἃ ὤρυξαν οἱ παῖδες τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐνέφραξαν αὐτὰ οἱ Φυλιστιιμ καὶ ἔπλησαν αὐτὰ γῆς. There is no question that Jordan was following the Greek, as there is no evidence he knew Greek at all. In his commentary on Genesis, Jerome used *Philistini*: "Ob hoc invidentes ei Philistini, omnes puteos, quos foderant servi patris illius Abraham, illo tempore obstruxerunt, implentes humo, in tantum, ut ipse Abimelech diceret ad Isaac: Recede a nobis, quoniam potentior nostri [*Vulg*. nobis] factus es valde. Et ille discedens, ut veniret ad torrentem Gerarae, habitaretque ibi: rursumque fodit alios puteos, quos foderant servi patris sui Abraham, et quos, illo mortuo, olim obstruxerant Philisthiim: appellavitque eos iisdem nominibus quibus ante pater vocaverat. Foderuntque in Torrente et repererunt aquam vivam." Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca, Liber Genesis* (*PL* 28, col. 196C–197A). In general *Palestini* was equated with *Philistini* with Abimlech as the *rex Palestinorum in Gerara* (e.g. Gen. 26:1), and Abraham had settled in the 'land of the Philistines' as in Gen. 21:33–34: *surrexit autem Abimelech et Fichol princeps militiae eius reversique sunt in terram Palestinorum Abraham vero plantavit nemus in Bersabee et invocavit ibi nomen Domini Dei aeterni et fuit colonus terrae Philisthinorum diebus multibus*, which in the NJB reads: *Abimelech and Phicol, the commander of his army, left and went back to Philistine territory. And Abraham planted a tamarisk at Beersheba and there he invoked the name of Yahweh. Abraham stayed for a long while in the Philistine territory*. Here the Vulgate does note variants equating *Palestinorum* and *Philistinorum* in some manuscripts.

25 Ioh. 14:23. The NJB reads: *Anyone who loves me will keep my word*.

26 amicitia … velle Cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* 8,4; Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Oxford, 1845), 154–156; available online at: http://books.google.com/books?id=enAxSIQyZsoC&oe=UTF-8.

27 ipsa … amatum Cf. Dion. *div.nom*. 13–17 (711–714)

28 Cf.: "Hoc est coheredem christi velle esse, hoc est preceptum dei facere, hoc est voluntatem patris adimplere. Fiat igitur o pater, voluntas tua, in peccatorum conversione, per opus penitentie; in conversorum sanctificatione, per munus gratie; in sanctificatorum salvatione, per bonum perseverantie; in salvatorum perpetua clarificatione, per donum glorie. Fiat, inquam, sicut in celo et in terra; sicut in angelis, sic in hominibus; sicut in iustis, sic in peccatoribus et adversis; sicut in portione superiore mentis, sic in sensualitate carnis; sicut in christo capite qui venit de celis, sic in ecclesia eius corpore que peregrinatur in terris." Biel *CME* 69 (151–152). This passage in Biel follows the comment in note 21 above. Here Biel is 'summarizing' Jordan's three-fold exposition, while not including much of his exposition. Certainly such a three-fold exposition was not unique to Jordan, but the parallels, combined with the evidence that Biel was directly relying on Jordan, indicate that here too he based his exposition on Jordan while construction his own text; there are no parallels here with Eggelinus.

29 Os. 11:4. The NJB reads: *that I was leading them with human ties, with leading-strings of love*.

30 Ioh. 14:23. The entire verse in the Vulgate reads: *respondit Iesus et dixit ei si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit et Pater meus diliget eum et ad eum veniemus et mansiones apud eum faciemus*. Jordan here returns to the verse he had cited above in part.

31 caritas … deo Cf. Aug. *in evang.Ioh*. 76:2 (518,16–17).

32 Iac. 1:12. The entire verse in the Vulgate reads: *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem quia cum probatus fuerit accipiet coronam vitae*. The NJB reads: *Blessed is anyone who perseveres when trials come. Such a person is of proven worth and will win the prize of life, the crown that the Lord has promised to those who love him*.

33 spiritus … impeatur *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:10 (IV,25B).

34 Ier. 50:45. The NJB reads: *So now hear the plan that Yahweh has laid against Babylon*. Jordan only cites the first part of this phrase in a much longer verse, namely, *Audite consilium Domini*, leaving off the rest of the phrase as the NJB does not: *quod mente concepti adversum Babylonem*. Jordan then skips to Ier. 51:1–2.

35 Ier. 51:1–2. The NJB reads: *Yahweh says this: Against Babylon and the inhabitants of Leb-Kamai I shall rouse a destructive wind. I shall send winnowers to Babylon to winnow her and leave her country bare, for she will be beleaguered on all sides on the day of disaster*.

36 Babylon … confusio Cf. *VF* 2,2 (78,87–89).

37 Sir. 21:16. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *scientia sapientis tamquam inundatio abundabit et consilium illius sicut fons vitae permanet*. Jordan has *eius* rather than *illius*, though no variants are listed for the Vulgate text. The NJB reads: *The sage's knowledge is as rich as the abyss and his advice is like a living spring* (Eccli. 21:13). Jordan clarifies that the consilium he is referring to is 'uncreated wisdom', *sapientia increata*, which is a bit more than the 'sage's knowledge' or the 'knowledge of a wise man'. Jordan here could be referring to 'uncreated wisdom' as discussed by Thomas Aquinas *De veritate*, or by Bonaventure. Cf.: "Ad decimum dicendum, quod duplex est sapientia: scilicet creata et increata: et utraque homini infundi dicitur; et eius infusione homo mutari in melius proficiendo. Sapientia vero increata nullo modo mutabilis est; creata vero in nobis mutatur per accidens, non per se. Est enim ipsam considerare dupliciter. Uno modo secundum respectum ad res aeternas de quibus est; et sic omnino immutabilis est. Alio modo secundum esse quod habet in subiecto; et sic per accidens mutatur, subiecto mutato de potentia habente sapientiam in actu habens. For-

mae enim intelligibiles, ex quibus sapientia consistit, et sunt rerum similitudines, et sunt formae perficientes intellectum." Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputate de veritate* 11 ad 10 (available online in the Leonine edition at: http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdv11.html); Bonaventure, *Quaestiones disputatae de scientia Christi*, q. 5 *De sapientia Christi*, S.Bonaventurae *Opera Omnia* 5 (Quaracchi, 1891), 27 ff.

38 Ps. 35:10. Jordan is following the LXX, the Vulgate text of which reads: *quoniam apud te fons vitae*. Jordan adds *est* after the *apud te*, as do five manuscripts of the Vulgate text. Jordan omitted the *quoniam*, supplying instead *Domine*, which most likely was drawn from Ps. 35:6 or 7, where the vocative *Domine* is used in the text with verse 10 being a continuation of the address. The NJB reads: *in you is the source of life* (Ps. 36:9).

39 Consilium … dare Aug. *de serm.dom*. 1,4,11 (10,209–211).

40 Ps. 111:5 (LXX). The NJB reads: *All goes well for one who lends generously* (Ps. 112:5).

41 Prov. 14:21. This is the correct reference. The NJB reads: *one who takes pity on the poor is blessed*. Jordan cites Prov. 4, which is attested by all the manuscript witnesses used here and S. 'Obviously' the *decimo* was omitted and not corrected (i.e. *quarto decimo* in Latin for 14).

42 Matth. 5:7.

43 Cf.: "Hac petitione invidia excluditur; caritas introducitur; donum consilii largitur; beatitudo misericordia obtinetur; tres fructus spiritus sancti scilicet caritas, benignitas, bonitas obtinentur." *PNcES*.

Lecture 6

1 Matth. 6:11; Lk 11:3. Jordan here follows the text of Matthew and thus uses the term 'supersubstantial', or in Latin, *supersubstantialis*, rather than 'daily' or *quotidianum*. Thus I have here technically 'mistranslated' as I have used 'daily' for 'supersubstantial'. I have done so since 'daily' is the common form of the prayer in English; cf. *CCC* 4,2,3,4. Jordan does discuss the differences between the two versions below. Except for the translation of this discussion, and in other places where 'supersubstantial' is essential for the meaning of Jordan's text, I have used throughout 'daily' rather than 'supersubstantial' for Jordan's use of *supersubstantialis* as well as *quotidianum* in the general sense of the prayer.

2 Panem … petimus *Cf. VC* 1,37 (170b): "Deinde sequitur quarta petitio: *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, id est, victum quotidianum corpori necessarium, nomine panis designatum; et in hoc intelliguntur peti omnia vitae necessaria."

3 tria … possidebuntur Aug. *enchir*. 30,115 (110,19–111,21).

4 Reliquis … necessaria Aug. *enchir*. 30,115 (110,14–15).

5 Panis … necessarius Aug. *enchir*. 30,115 (111,29); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (105b).

6 Postquam … spirituali Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 186^{v}: "… ubi sciendum secundum Augustinum, quod Christus in tribus primis petitionibus docuit nos petere illa bona, que propre inspiciunt vitam futuram, nunc descendit ad illa petenda que respiciunt necessitate presentis vite; non quidem terrenam et materialem, ut quidem dicere volunt, sed que respiciunt formentum et nutritionem vite spiritualis sine quibus homo in vita spirituali subsistere non potest, sicut nec in vita corporali potest subsistere sine pane materiali." D'Ailly's treatment of the fourth petition shows possible influence of Jordan: "Sequitur quarta petitio, *Panem*

nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: in qua, petitis illis, quae ad beatitudinem pertineat directe et principaliter: consequentur illud petimus, quod ad eam pertinet instrumentaliter. Ubi primo notandum est, quod hoc ad literam potest dupliciter exponi, uno modo de *pane Sacramentali*, cuius quotidianus usus cum debitis conditionibus prodest homini … Alio modo potest exponi de *pane corporali*, ut etiam per panem intelligatur omnis sufficientia victus." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,6,1 (171–172).

7 Cf.: "Fecit autem dominus mentionem de solo pane et non docuit nos expresse petere: carnes, pisces, vinum et cetera. Cum tamen homines his indigeant pro competenti ac salubri sua sustentatione ut ex modo loquendi nobis insinuaret, ut quantum commode possumus paucis contenti sumus, et communibus ad victum necessariis." Biel, *CME* 70 (154); "Sed diceret quis quare igitur dominus fecit mentionem de solo pane et non potius docuit nos expresse petere et dicere da nobis panes vinum pisces et carnes cum et hiis homines indigeant pro competenti et salutari sui sustentatione, respondetur quod Christus hoc fecit ut ex modo loquendi nobis insinuaret ut quantum commode possumus contenti simus paucis et communibus ad victum necessariis." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 229^{rb}. Biel is following Eggelinus here clearly.

8 Sir. 29:28. The Vulgate reads: *initium vitae aqua et panis*. Three manuscripts of the Vulgate text add *hominum* and three add *hominis*; Jordan here adds *hominis*, a reading testified to by Alcuin's exemplar, by Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana MS G 82 sup., from the seventh century, and by the *Clementina*. The NJB reads: *The first thing in life is water, and bread* (Ecclesi. 29:21). Exponendo … panis Cf. *VC* 1,37 (170b): "Panem ergo dicit, non carnes, non pisces, id est, non aliquod superfluum, sed tantum quod est naturae necessarium, quod bene significatur per panem, quia secundum Ecclesiasticum: *Initium vitae hominis aqua et panis*."

9 Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (*PG* 56, 714); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a); *cf. VC* 1,37 (170b): "Et addit, *Nostrum*, ut nemo sibi temporalia appropriet, quia, secundum Chrysostomum, omnia quae nobis dat Deus, sive orantibus, sive militantibus, non solum nobis dat; sed etiam aliis per nos, ut de eo quod accepimus a Deo, partem impotentibus faciamus. Qui ergo de laboribus suis indigentibus non praestat, non tantum panem suum, sed etiam alienum manducat." Here Ludolph could have been drawing either from Jordan, or directly from Thomas's *Catena Aurea*: "Et ideo addidit *Nostrum*, idest quem nos habemus paratum, illum da nobis, ut a te sanctificetur; sicut sacerdos panem accipiens a laico, sanctificat, et porrigit ei: panis enim offerentis est; sed quod sanctificatum est beneficium est sacerdotis. Dicit autem *Nostrum* propter duo. Primo, quia omnia quae nobis Deus dat, per nos aliis dat, ut de eo quod accipimus, partem impotentibus faciamus. Qui ergo de laboribus suis, indigentibus praestat, non tantum panem suum manducat, sed etiam alienum." Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a). This comparison indicates that Ludolph drew here directly from Thomas, even if he was led to Thomas by Jordan's text. Eggelinus may have been drawing on Jordan here as well: "Secundo dicimus nostrum ut nemo aliena bona sibi ut sua usurparet, de quo idem Crisostomus: Qui de iustitia panem acquistum manducat, suum panem manducat; qui autem cum peccato, alienum." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 232^{rb}. It should be noted though that Eggelinus did not include a *primo* or a *tertio*, and thus his *secundo* here seems out of place and may indicate his following Jordan, especially given that Eggelinus cites exactly the same passage in Chrysostomus as did Jordan. Biel then follows Eggelinus: "Secundo dicimus *nostrum*, ut nemo aliena bona sibi ut sua usurpet, de quo Chrysostomus: 'Qui de iustitia panem adquisitum manducat suum

panem manducat, qui autem cum peccato, alienum'." Biel, *CME* 70 (160). Further, this section in Jordan's text is continuous, namely, Jordan is giving a six-fold interpretation of our (*noster*) daily bread, which may have provided the source for Eggelinus directly and then indirectly, via Eggelinus, for Biel, though Eggelinus constructs his own text with more extensive exposition than did Jordan. While Biel may have been drawing on Jordan, the closest parallel is the text of D'Ailly, who then may have taken his exposition from Jordan: "Secundo notandum est, quod dicimus, *panem nsotrum, etc. da nobis* quadruplici ratione. Primo ut nemo sibi temporalia appropriet: unde Chrysostomus, omnia (inquit) quae nobis dat Deus, non solis nobis dat, sed aliis per nos: ut de eo quod accepimus per nos partem impotentibus faciamus. Secundo, ut nemo aliena usurpet: unde idem Chrysostomus ait: qui de iustitia panem acquisitum manudcat, panem suum manudcat: qui autem cum peccato, alienum." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,6,2 (172). D'Ailly's first citation of Chrysostomus is also found in Jordan's text below.

10 Hoc … accedam Aug. *conf*. 10,31,44 (136).

11 Matth. 6:11; Luc. 11:3.

12 Ps. 135:25 (LXX). The NJB reads: *He provides food for all living creatures*. Cf. *VC* 1,37 (170b): "Et subjungit: *Da nobis hodie*, quia nec minimum habere possumus, nisi det ille *qui dat escam omni carni*."

13 dei … acceptionem Greg.M. *moral*. 24,7,13 (1196,6–7); cf. Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a); *cf. VC* 1,37 (170b): "Secundum Gregorium, *nostrum*, hunc panem dicimus, et tamen ut detur oramus; Dei enim est ex munere, quia ab illo datur et noster fit ex perceptione, cum accipitur." Here Ludolph most likely was drawing directly from Thomas: "Nostrum autem hunc panem dicimus, et tamen ut detur oramus: quia Dei est ex munere, et noster fit per acceptionem." Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a).

14 panem … sacerdotis Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (713); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a)

15 Unde … ministretur *VC* 1,37 (170b): "Unde homo devotus tali mente debet sumere cibum, ac si sibi de manu Domini praesentialiter ministretur."

16 omnia … faciamus Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (713); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106a)

17 2 Esr. 8:10. The NJB reads: … *send a helping to the man who has nothing prepared*. (Nehemiah 8:10; in the Vulgate Nehemiah is known as 2 Ezra) This verse was also part of the Communion Antiphone for the Third Sunday of Ordinary Time, Cycle C of the *Gregorian Missal* (Tournai/Solesmes, 1990), 441 (available online in pdf at: http://musicasacra.com/resource-lists/).

18 dicit … feneratorem Aug. *serm*. 123,5 (*PL* 38,686).

19 per … perveniemus Cf. Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (713).

20 Matth. 6:34. The full verse of the Vulgate reads: *nolite ergo esse solliciti in crastinum crastinus enim dies sollicitus erit sibi ipse sufficit diei malitia sua*. The NJB reads: *So do not worry about tomorrow: tomorrow will take care of itself. Each day has enough trouble of its own*.

21 Ad hoc … reservatum *Cf. VC* 1,37 (170b): "Dicit autem *quotidianum*, non annum, vel ad plures annos provisum, et in horreis reservatum." D'Ailly seems to be drawing from Jordan here: "Lucas vero dicit *quotidianum*, id est, non annum, vel a decem annis provisum, vel in horreis reservatum. Ideo ispum petimus hodie, id est, in praesenti, quia nescimus, si ad crastinum perveniamus. Unde per hoc inordinata solicitudo excluditur, et superfluitas condemnatur: quia solum quod est naturae necessarium et conveniens petitur." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,6,1 (172).

22 pro … torqueris Chrysost. *hom.in Matth*. 19 (280).

23 Diurnum … manere Cypr. *domin.orat*. 19 (102,352–360).

24 panem … dierum Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (713); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (106b); Thomas cites this passage as Cyprian, which clearly shows Jordan was following Thomas since the quotation is actually Ps.Chrysostomus.

25 Cf.: "Quinque autem panes sunt nobis necessarii: quatuor in uia et quintus in patria. Corporalis ad sustentationem, spiritualis ad informationem, doctrinalis ad eruditionem, sacramentalis ad expiationem, et eternalis ad fruitionem." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48, 12 (515,200–203). D'Ailly offered a five-fold interpretation, which may have been based on Jordan: "Tertio notandum est, quod extendendo illam petitionem ad sensum mysticum, vel moralem; ispam de quintuplici pane possumus exponere: ut dicamus, da panem *poenitentiae*, ad relevationem languoris … secundo, panem *intelligentiae*, contra famam errorem … Tertio panem *Eucharistiae*, ad impinguationem amoris … Quarto, panem *gloriae* ad delectationem saporis … Quinto ad literam, panem naturae ad sustentationem indigentiae naturalis." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,6,3 (173).

26 triplex panis … saporis Hen. *Exp*., fol. 187^{r}: "Et iste panis supersubstantialis est triplex, scilicet doctrinalis, sacramentalis, et celestis. Primus repellet famem seu inedium erroris; secundus est nutrimentum amoris; tertius prebet interni saporis omne delectamentum." Cf.: "Tertio dicitur *nostrum*, non tuum quamvis panis illius sit qui daturus est eum, quia etsi dei dest dominio et proprietate, tamen noster est ex eius munere. Item, noster refectione et causalitate, nostram enim indigentiam commemoramus ut humiliemur. Nos quoque sumus, propter quos panis ille nedum corporalis sed et sacramentalis et spiritualis ac doctrinalis paratus est ac ministratur sub ratione panis." Biel, *CME* 70 (160).

27 Sir. 15:3. The Vulgate text has *cibabit* (future tense) though four manuscripts read *cibavit* (simple past tense) as does Jordan. Of our mss, only F reads *cibabit*. The NJB reads: *She will give him the bread of understanding to eat* (Eccli. 15:3).

28 Matth. 4:4. The NJB reads: *Human beings live not on bread alone*. This verse is Jesus's citation of Scripture from Deut. 8:3.

29 panis … fulcit Cf. Aug. *serm*. 57,7 (389); *serm*. 58,4 (395); *serm*. 59,3 (401)

30 dicitur cottidianum … Chrysostomus via Hen. *Exp*. fol. 187^{r}.

31 Hebr. 3:13. The Vulgate text reads: *sed adhortamini vosmet ipsos per singulos dies donec hodie cognominatur*. Jordan omits the *sed*, has *hortamini* rather than *adhortamini*, and has simply *vos* rather than *vosmet ipsos*, which though is followed by S. The NJB reads: *Every day, as long as this* today *lasts, keep encouraging one another*.

32 Ioh. 6:45. The NJB reads: *They will all be taught by God*. Ioh. 6:45 begins by noting that this was written in the prophets (*est scriptum in prophetis*), the reference being to Isaiah 54:13: *universos filios tuos doctos a Domino* (NJB: *All your children will be taught by Yahweh*). In John, the form used is *docibiles*, litterally 'teachable', with 'God' in the possive, *Dei*. Thus I have translated the verse as *all those of God will be teachable*, though it could also be *all will be teachable of God*, which would be closer to the instrumental *by the Lord* of Isaiah. The context though, both in John and for Jordan, is after the resurrection, in the heavenly Jerusalem, so that all who are there will be 'of God', and thus I have translated the text, which also then implies that before the parousia, all, even those 'of God', are not really teachable, at least not completely so, which has its parallel with Paul's distinction between seeing now in a mirror darkly, but then face to face (1Cor. 13:12). In … dei Cf. Hen. *Exp*.,

fol. 187r: "Ideo dicit hoc quia ille panis est nobis solum necessarius in vita presenti, in futuro autem ubi omnes erunt docibiles dei non erimus necessarii."

33 Ioh. 6:51.

34 Quando petimus … vivus Hier. *in Matth.* 1 (37,776–778).

35 Iste … peculiaris Cf. Hier. *in Matth.* 1 (37,776–778); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:11 (105b); "Lucas dicit: *Panem nostrum cotidianum*, quod tam de corporali quam de sacramentali pane potest intelligi, uidelicet de uiatico. Grecus habet epyusion, quod interpretatur supersubstantialem. Hebreus uero segola, quod interpretatur egregium uel peculiarem." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 48, 13 (516,228–232). The editors of Durandus give reference here not to Jerome, or to Thomas, but to Peter Comester, *Historia Scholastica, In evangelium* c. 49 (*PL* 198, 1565A) and to Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* c. 47a (*CCCM* 41A, 83); *cf. CCC* 4,2,3,4.

36 Ioh. 6:57. Jordan has omitted the *and drinks my blood*, simply referencing it with etc. to be filled in by the reader. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *Qui manudcat meum carnem et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in illo*. The NJB reads: *Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood lives in me and I live in that person* (John. 6:56).

37 Cf.: "Dicitur, et 'panis substantialis', id est egregius, precipuus aut peculiaris. Unde dicit beatus Hieronymus Super Mattheum, quod in evangelio greco unde illud translatum est, non habetur in hoc loco 'panis quottidianus', sed 'panis epyusion', quod latine sonat 'supersubstantialis' … quod maxime corpori christi sive christo sub sacramento attribuitur, quia panis est singularissimus, panis celestis, panis vite qui de celo descendit, panis angelorum habens in se omne delectamentum et omnis saporis suavitatem, prebens virtutem fortissimuam, ut via meriti, qua itur ad deum, perficiatur. Vel dicitur panis ⟨super⟩substantialis, quia est supra nostram substantiam. Panis enim materialis et cibus quemcunque sumimus, convertitur et transit in nostram substantiam. Hic vero panis non sic, sed comedentem mutat in se, ut frequenter supra ex Augustino allegatum est, cibus sum, grandium et cetera." Biel, *CME* 71 (175–176); Biel is clearly following Eggelinus here, though Eggelinus may have been influenced by Jordan: "Dicitur et panis supersubstantialis id est egregius precipuus aut peculiaris. Unde dicit beatus Ieronymus super Mattheum quod in evangelio Greco, unde illud translatum est non habetur in hoc loco panis cottidianus sed panis epiusion quod Latine sonat supersubstantialis. Subdit ubicumque lxx interpretes hoc nomen epiusion posuerunt transferendo antiquum testamentum in Grecum. In Hebreo habetur sogulla quod sonat precipium egregium aut peculiare quod maxime corpori Christi sive Christo, Christo sub sacramento attribuitur quia panis est singularissimus panis celestis panis vivus qui de celo descendit, panis angelorum habens in se omnem delectamentum et omnis saporis suavitatem prebens virtutem fortissimam ut via meriti qua itur ad deum perficiatur. Vel dicitur panis supersubstantialis quia est supra nostram substantiam, panis enim materialis et cibus quicumque quem sumimus convertitur et transit in nostram substantiam. Hic autem panis commestus non convertitur in nostram substantiam sed potius nostra substantia transit in ipsum secundum vocem quem audivit Augustinus cibus sum grandium non me mutabis in te sed tu mutaberis in me. Hunc panem petimus dicendo panem nostrum cottidianum da hobis hodie." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 235vb–236ra.

38 Jordan cited Augustine, but the quotation is to Anselm, *De sacramentis*: "Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Graeci in Oriente facere consuerunt. Accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit. Sic vive, ut quotidie merearis accipere. Qui non

meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur post annum accipere. Quomodo Job sanctus pro filiis suis offerebat quotidie sacrificium ne forte aliquid vel in corde, vel in sermone peccassent? Ergo tu audis quod quotiescumque offertur sacrificium, mors Domini, resurrectio Domini, elevatio Domini significetur, et remissio peccatorum: et panem istum vitae non quotidianum assumis? Qui vulnus habet, medicinam requirit. Vulnus est, quia sub peccato sumus: medicina est coeleste et venerabile sacramentum … Quotidie si accipis, quotidie tibi hodie est. Si tibi hodie est Christus, tibi quotidie resurgit." Anselmus, *De sacramentis* 5, 5,4, 25–26 (*PL* 16, col. 452B–453A); cf. *CCC* 4,2,3,4, 2836–2837. The issue here too for Anselm, as for Augustine, concerned the frequency of communion. By Jordan's time, Christians were required to receive communion at least once a year by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. More frequent communion though was certainly allowed and in many cases encouraged. Here, behind the quotation, we find Anselm and Jordan exhorting their readers to receive communion on a daily basis.

39 2 Cor. 3:18. The NJB reads: *And all of us, with our unveiled faces like mirrors reflecting the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the image that we reflect in brighter and brighter glory; this is the working of the Lord who is the Spirit*. Iste … velatum Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 187^{r-v}: "Secundus dicitur supersubstantialis quia est panis vivus qui de celo descendit et nos in seipsum transformat iuxta illud autem ⟨*qui*⟩ *manducis meam carnem et bibit meam sanguinem in me manet* et dicit cottidianum quia cottidie sumendus cum sit quedam medicina nostre fragilitatis sine cuius usu homo in bona vita subsistere non posset. Unde Augustinus in de verbis domini: hunc panem accipe cottidie ut cottidie tibi prosit, et sic vive ut cottidie ipsum merearis accipere quia qui non meretur cottidie accipere subaudi nichil dispone perseverans. Hunc etiam panem nobis petimus dari hodie, idest, in vita presenti quia in vita futura ipsum accipimus et manducimus non velatum accidentibus, quia ibi secundum Apostolum, gloriam domini revelata facie contemplabimur."

40 Luc. 14:15. The NJB reads: *Blessed is anyone who will share the meal in the kingdom of God*.

41 Ps. 16:15 (LXX). The NJB reads: *I shall be filled with the vision of you* (Ps. 17:15). Alio modo … gloria tua Cf. *VC* 1,37 (170b–171a): "Vel *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, id est panem, spiritualem, scilicet praecepta divina, quae quotidie oportet meditari et operari. Nam de ipsis Dominus dicit: *Operamini cibum, qui non perit*. *Quotidianus* dicitur iste panis, quamdiu durat haec vita temporalis. Dictum est autem, *da nobis hodie*, quod intelligitur pro tempore hujus vitae humanae; in futura enim eis qui hic meruerunt non auferetur, quia cibo spirituali in aeternum saturabuntur. Vel *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, id est panem sacramentalem et vivum, qui de coelo descendit, qui est supersubstantialis, id est, super omnes substantias, et universam superat creaturam, qui panis nsoter est in altari, et quotidie offertur pro salute fidelium, qui reficit animam naturam corporis transcendentem, quo quotidie labimur, et ad lapsum proni sumus. Qui etiam vocatur *quotidianus*, quia quotidie ipsum sumimus per ministros Ecclesiae, qui hoc sacramentum percipiunt pro se, et pro tota communitate. Unde Chrysostus: Non immerito semper orare debemus ut hunc panem coelestem quotidie mereamur accipere, ne aliquo interveniente peccato, a corpore Domini separemur. Potest etiam adhuc de alio triplici pane exponi, scilicet doctrinali seu intelligentiae, luctuali seu moestitiae, et coelesti seu gloriae. De primo dicitur: *Cibavit illum pane vitae et intellectus*; de secundo: *Cibabis nos pane lacrymarum*; de tertio: *Qui manducat panem in regno Dei*. Et bene illa beata fruitio dicitur panis, quia sicut panis corporalis satiat appetitum edentis, sic fruitio

illa satiat desiderium contemplantis secundum illud: *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*." This is the passage that has more parallels with Jordan's 'revisions' as witnessed by the Strassburg 1483 edition of his *Opus Postillarum* than with his *Expositio* as originally from his lectures in Erfurt. There is little doubt, though, that Ludolph was drawing on Jordan for his exposition of the 'daily bread'.

42 Et … Christo Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 187^{v}: "De pane vero beate fruitionis scribitur Luc. 14, quod *virtus qui manducabit panem in regno dei*. Recte autem illa beata fruitio dicitur panis, quia sicut panis materialis satiat appetitum commedentis, sic beata fuitio satiat desiderium contemplantis. Ideo scribut in psalmo *Sitiabo cum apparuerit glora tua* [Ps. 16:15] Reficimur autem ibi non solum gloria divinitatis sed etiam humanitatis ut sic sive ingrediamur ad contemplandum gloriam divinitatis sive egrediamur ad contemplandum gloriam humanitatis Christi semper inveniamus pascua iocunde refectionis. Hunc etiam panem nobis dari petimus in presenti per quandam pregustationem, sed in futuro nobis dabitur per claram visionem et intimam fruitionem etc."

43 These references to Bernard I have not been able to identify. Cf.: "Et praeterea peto ut consideretis et ante mentis et corporis oculos semper habeatis quid sumus nos et vos; nonne homines sumus; et unde homines, nisi de humo? Et quid est humus, nisi pulvis et cinis? Et quid erimus, nisi quod dictum est: *Christus cum apparuerit*, si bene egerimus, *ei similes erimus* (Coloss. 3:4), hoc est immortalitate et aeternitate? Abnegemus quod sumus, ut incipiamus esse quod non sumus." Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula Canonicorum* 81 (*PL* 89, col. 1091A–B); "Praeterea movetur terra, vel ad profluvium patrandi sceleris, vel ad enervationem fidei: stulto agente in regno quippe, satiatus est cibo. Quid est cibus fidelis populi, nisi panis vivus sacri eloquii?" Beda, *In Proverbia Salomonis* 30 (*PL* 91, col. 1056B).

44 Bernardus *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* 20,3 (*PL* 183, col. 868A).

45 que … gaudia Greg.M. *in evang*. 14,5 (1130A)

46 *Cf. CCC* 4,2,3,4.

47 Cf.: "*Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie*: materialem, doctrinalem, sacramentalem, celestem, quo natura sustentatur, intelligencia illustratur, bona gratia donatur, vita perhennis acquiratur. Talis sit panis nature, intelligentie, gratie, glorie." *PNcES*.

48 Ps. 106:27 (LXX). The NJB reads: *they staggered and reeled like drunkards, and all their skill went under* (Ps. 107:27).

49 Os. 13:6. The full verse of the Vulgate reads: *iuxta pascua sua et adimpleti sunt et saturati elevaverunt cor suum et obliti sunt mei*. Omitting the first part of the verse, Jordan has *saturati sunt*, which is listed as a variant witnessed by Orléans, Bibl. mun. 17 (14), from the eighth to ninth century and by the *Clementina*. The *Clementina* also reads, as does Jordan, *levaverunt* rather than *elevaverunt*, attested also by the reading of eighth-century *Amiatinus*, Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenz, Ms Amiatino I. The NJB reads: *I pastured them, and they were satisfied; once satisfied, their hearts grew proud, and therefore they forgot me*.

50 Mc. 5:12; cf. Matth. 8:31. The name 'Legion' is given in Mc and Luc. but not in Matth.; *mitte* is present in Matth. and Mc., but Matth. reads: *Mitte nos in gregem porcorum*, whereas Jordan quotes Mc.: *mitte nos in porcos*, from which he takes the name Legion as well (*Legio nomen mihi est quia multi sumus*, Mc. 5:9). The NJB reads: *Send us to the pigs, let us go into them* (Mark 5:12).

51 2 Cor. 6:15. The NJB reads: *How can Christ come to an agreement with Beliar*. The Latin here

is *conventio*, which in some ways is closer to 'agreement' than it is to 'relationship', for which Jerome could have used *relatio*. *Conventio* is a gathering, an agreement, an assembly, an association, etc. Perhaps better yet would be "What has Christ to do with Belial?" though here the emphasis is on Christ, which is not wrong certainly, but the question Paul is asking is how can Christ be 'put together with' Belial, and thus I chose to translate it with 'relationship', which is the 'thing' that is being asked about, and I think gets at the force of the passage better than does 'agreement' in this case. This is not to mean however any sort of 'relationship' in the common use of the term, nor even to suggest that there could be a relationship of sorts. Indeed the rhetoric here is to contrast two incompatibles, two opposites, not two individuals who could, even theoretically, have some sort of relation. In some ways Paul is saying that "Christ has nothing to do in any way, shape, or form with Belial", which I think my 'relationship' approaches more closely than does 'agreement'. Thus my translation.

52 Luc. 16:22. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae mortuus est autem et dives et sepultus est in inferno*. The NJB reads: *Now it happened that the poor man died and was carried away by the angels into Abraham's embrace. The rich man also died and was buried*. The entire parable, found only in Luke, is found in Luke 16:19–31. The NJB continues in verse 23: *In his torment in Hades he looked up and saw Abraham a long way off with Lazarus in his embrace*; the Vulgate reads: *elevans oculos suos cum esset in tormentis videbat Abraham a longe et Lazarus in sinu eius*.

53 Ps. 103:15 (LXX). The NJB reads: *food to make them sturdy of heart*.

54 Sir. 15:3. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *cibabit illum panem vitae et intellectus et aqua sapientiae salutaris potabit illum et firmabitur in illo et non flectetur*. The NJB reads: *She will give him the bread of understanding to eat and the water of wisdom to drink. He will lean on her and will not fall* (Eccli. 15:3–4). Wisdom is the subject here who will give the bread of understanding. Sir. 15:1–2 reads in the Vulgate: *qui timet Deum faciet illud et qui continens est iustitiae adprehendet illam et obviabit illi quasi mater honorificata et quasi mulier a virginitate suscipiet illum*. The NJB reads: *Whoever fears the Lord will act like this, and whoever grasps the Law will obtain wisdom. She will come to meet him like a mother, and receive him like a virgin bride*. This is though based on interpreting the *illam* in verse one as wisdom, making it the subject then of *obviabit*. The Greek too is not clear in this regard: ὁ φοβούμενος κύριον ποιήσει αὐτό καὶ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου καταλήμψεται αὐτήν καὶ ὑπαντήσεται αὐτῷ ὡς μήτηρ καὶ ὡς γυνὴ παρθενίας προσδέξεται αὐτόν.

55 2 Macc. 15:11. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *singulos autem illorum armavit non clypei et hastae munitione sed sermonibus optimis et hortationibus expositio digno fide somnio per quod universos laetificavit*. The NJB reads: *Having armed each one of them not so much with the saftey given by shield and lance as with that confidence which springs from noble language, he encouraged them all by describing to them a convincing dream—a vision as it were*.

56 3 Reg. 19:8. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *qui cum surrexisset comedit et bibit et ambulavit in fortitudine cibi illius quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus usque ad montem Dei Horeb*. The NJB reads: *So he got up and ate and drank, and strenghthened by that food he walked for forty days and forty nights until he reached Horeb, God's mountain* (1 Kings 19:8). The NJB, as many translations, refers to 1 and 2 Kings of the Vulgate as 1 and

2 Samuel, followed then by 1 and 2 Kings, whereas in the Vulgate, these books are Kings 1-IV, thus 3 Kings in the Vulgate is 1 Kings in the NJB.

57 Is. 30:15. The NJB reads: *your strength in serenity and trust*. The NJB uses the past tense whereas the Vulgate uses the future. The vull verse in the Vulgate reads: *quia haec dicit Dominus Deus Sanctus Israhel si revertamini et quiescatis salvi eritis in silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra et noluistis*, whereas the NJB has: *For Lord Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, says this, 'Your salvation lay in conversion and tranquility, your strength in serenity and trust and you would have none of it'*. Litterally the Vulgate reads: 'you will be saved in silence and your fortitude will be in hope', though Jordan begins his citation with *in silentio*, and reads simply *spe* rather than *in spe*, thus linking silence with fortitude. Fortitude certainly is 'strength', but as it is the virtue *fortitudo* that is being discussed here, I have simply translated *fortitudo* as 'fortitude'.

58 esuries … fulciter *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:11 (IV,25B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25C).

59 non … intelligamus Hier. *in Matth*. 1 (25,449–452).

60 Numquam … contenderet Bernardus *Epistula* 254,2; Sancti Bernardi *Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, N.M. Rochais, 8 vols., Editiones Cistercienses (Rome, 1957–1977), 8.157,23–158,1.

61 Sir. 24:29. The NJB reads: *They who eat me will hunger for more* (Eccli. 24:21).

62 Ps. 145:7 (LXX). The NJB reads: (*he*) *… gives food to the hungry* (Ps. 146:7).

63 Ex. 16:1–36.

64 Matth. 7:6. The NJB reads: *Do not give dogs what is holy*.

65 Luc. 1:53. The NJB reads: *He has filled the starving with good things*. This is a quotation from Ps. 106:9: *animam esurientem satiavit bonis*; NJB: *He has fed the hungry to their hearts content* (Ps. 107:9).

66 Ex. 33:19. The NJB reads: *I shall make all my goodness pass before you.*

67 Ostendam … esuries Cf. Ps.Hug.SV. *Med*. (993 *sqq*.)

68 Ps. 16:15. The NJB reads: *I shall be filled with the vision of you* (Ps. 17:15).

69 Ps. 15:10. The NJB reads: *unbounded joy in your presence* (Ps. 16:11).

70 *Non invenitur*; cf. Bernardus (?), *In antiphonam salve regina*, sermo 1 (*PL* 184, 1064a–b).

71 Cf.: "Hac petitione gula excluditur, fortitudo introducitur, donum fortitudinis largitur, beatitudo esuriei obtinetur; unus fructus spiritus sancti scilicet modestia promeretur." *PNcES*.

Lecture 7

1 Matth. 6:12

2 ut … vivat Cypr. *domin.orat*. 22 (103,405–406); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:12 (106b)

3 post … delicti Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:12 (106b)

4 Et … necessitatis Aug. *conf*. 10,31,47 (137)

5 Ideo … orare Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 187v–188r: "*Et dimitte nobis debita nostra.* Hec est quinta petitio que nostrum affectum munit contra omnem incursum vitiorum docens nos potissime furoris et ire radices expellere cum dicit *et dimitte*, etc. Quisquis ergo fratri in se delinquenti ex corde non dimisit, non indulgentiam sed condemnationem in hac oratione impetrabit. Et si clementer volumus ab illo iudicari oportet nos fore clementes circa

illos qui in nos delinquunt tantum enim nobis dimittitur quantum aliis dimiserimus. Hec convenienter sequitur premissam, quia secundum Cyprianum post subsidium spiritualis cibi convenienter petimus veniam delicti, ut si quidquam in spirituali cibo summendo vel desiderando delinquimus hoc nobis hic abstringi petamus. Ideo post petitionem spiritualis cibi recte sequitur petitio de dimissione delicti. Et primo ponitur ipsa petitio; secundo subditur eius modus et conditio cum subdicitur *sicut et nos* etc. Ex hoc patet quod ad istam petitionem omnes tenentur et quia petimus nobis dimitti nostra debita, idest peccata, patet quod nullus est ita sanctus quod non in aliquibus delinquat. Ideo omnes tenentur dicere istam orationem. Unde dicit Cyprianus: per hoc apparet nos cottidie peccare dum pro peccatis cottidie iudemur orare." Ne … orare Cypr. *domin.orat.* 22 (104,413–415); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:12

6 Ex … penam Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 188r: "Sciendum tamen quod Christus melius dixit dimitte nobis debita nostra quam peccata nostra quia plus petimus dictis 'debitis' quia sic petimus nobis dimitti tam culpam quam penam quam tenemur exoluere per peccata quod non fieret dicendo peccata quia quandoque peccatum dimittitur quo ad culpam et tamen reatus remanet quo ad penam."

7 Cf.: "Debita dicuntur peccata que nos debitores pene constituunt, non enim hic agitur de debitis pecunarium sed offensarum. Tria autem sunt debita que petimus nobis dimitti, uidelicet peccatum in Deum, peccatum in proximum et peccatum in nos." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 48, 9 (513,131–135).

8 Propter … dilectionem *Cf. VC* 1,37 (171a): "Debita, inquam, et peccata quaecumque contra te commisimus, vel contra proximos, vel contra nosipsos; item contra te Patrem, et contra te Filium, vel contra Spiritum Sanctum; item corde, vel ore, vel opere commissa."

9 Lev. 16:31. The the full verse in the Vulgate reads: *sabbatum enim requietionis est et adfligetis animas vestras religione perpetua*; no variant for the addition of *deo* is given. The complete verse in the NJB reads: *It will be a sabbatical rest for you and you will fast. This is a perpetual law*. The Latin verb *adfligere* does not mean 'discipline' as such, but 'to break', 'to humble', 'to crush', 'to throw down', etc.; it likewise does not mean 'to fast'. The Greek has 'to make low', 'to humble', with the full verse reading: σάββατα σαββάτων ἀνάπαυσις αὕτη ἔσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταπεινώσετε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν νόμιμον αἰώνιον. Here νόμιμον is 'custom' or 'practice' and is closer to 'law' than it is to Jerome's 'religion'. The context for this verse is the day of expiation, making attonement for one's sins. In this light too 'religion' is also a 'law', a practice, a binding of oneself to God (see Introduction section on religionization and Jordan's discussion here below). Fasting would be only one means of 'humbling' one's soul, yet it is the ongoing, 'eternal' doing so with respect to one's soul in relationship to God which justifies Jerome's translation. Whereas *adfligere* is rather strong, going beyond 'discipline', it does 'get at' what is intended in terms of the intended practice, namely, to everlastingly give God what is owed, i.e. worship, for which we must discipline our souls. The adjective αἰώνιον here is used throughout the Gospels for 'eternal life'; here we have 'eternal religion'. Thus Jordan understood it as such in the context of his exposition, and thus my translation.

10 religio … religiosorum Cf. *VF* 2,25 (252,28–45)

11 Religio … affert Cicero, *De Inventione* 2,161; *De Inventione*, ed. Eduard Stroebel, *Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Stuttgart, 1965), 148,11–13; Propter … affert Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 188r-v: "Sciendum quod sunt debita illa et quibus teneamur ea.

Unde aliquid debemus deo, proximis, nobis: deo debemus religionem et venerationem; proximis mutuam dilectionem; nobis debitam gubernationem. Per religionem intelligitur hic cultus deo debitus quo ipsum veneramur sicut est adoratio, prostratio, supplicatio et cetera huiusmodi, qui soli deo debentur. Et sic religio secundum Tullium in secundo libro *Rhetorice* sue dicitur: Virtus que ipsa deo cultum et cerimoniam exhibet."

12 Et … perpetuo Cf. Thom.Aq. *STh* II/II q. 186, art. 1, resp. (2356a,39–42)

13 religio … deo Cf. Isid. *diff*. 1,486 (58–59)

14 Rom. 8:12–13. The NJB reads: *So then, my brothers, we have no obligation to human nature to be dominated by it. If you do live in that way, you are doomed to die; but if by the Spirit you put to death the habits originating in the body, you will have life*.

15 Ex … debemus Hen. *Exp*., fol. 188v

16 Rom. 13:8. The NJB reads: *The only thing you should owe to anyone is love for one another*.

17 id … debitorem Cf. *Glos.ord*. ad Rom. 13:8 (IV,301B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 28E)

18 Debemus … nostros Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 188v: "De tertio scribitur Romanorum 13: *Nemini quicumque debeatis nisi ut invicem diligatis*. In sola enim dilectione omnia mandata implevitur propter quod dicit Apostolus, plenitudo, idest adimpletio legis est dilectio. Ideo quando ista debita non reddimus faciendo cuilibet quid debemus, peccata contrahimus, pro quibus penam meremur. Hec debita dimitti petimus quo ad culpam et penam."

19 Cf.: "Quinta peticio. *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*: debemus tibi, nobismetipsis, proximis, videlicet religionem, debitam gubernationem, mutuam dilectionem; dimitte ergo quecumque commissimus contra nos, proximos nostros." *PNcES*.

20 in … dimittere Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 188v: "Sciendum quod in lesione, qua quis leditur ab alio, est duo considerare scilicet ipsam culpam, que ex lesione incurritur et illam solus deus remittit; et rancorem quod quis concipit contra illum qui ipsum lesit et tenemur dimittere si volumus nobis dimitti." Biel went his own way here, though Jordan's text may have been an influence: "Sed dices, cum peccatum remittere opus sit solius dei, quomodo nic exigimur peccata in nos deliquentibus indulgere … Pro planiori tamen intellectu quemadmodum debita proximorum dimitti oporteat, in hac dimissione tria considerari possunt. Primum est offensa dei sive culpa quam proximus noster nobis iniurando incurrit, secundum offensa nostra odium, rancor vel ira quam nos concipimus adversus iniurantem, tertium est iniuria nobis facta, seu damnum vel lesio nobis a proximo iniuste illatum vel illata in corpore rebus aut fama. Primum, scilicet offensa dei. Nam nemo potest proximum iniuste ledere sine dei offensa … Pro hac offensa proximi in deum orare possumus, et iubemur eam autem dimittere non possumus, quia solius dei est peccata dimittere penitenti … Secundum, scilicet, offensam nostram que est odium, rancor vel ira, quam concipimus adversus nos ledentes, verbis, factis aut signis dimittere possumus et dimittere obligamur." Biel, *CME* 73 (199–200). There are no parallels here with Eggelinus.

21 non … nostra Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,8,28 (118,619–622); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:12 (107a); Hen. *Exp*. fol. 188v–189r: "Sciendum quod hic non loquitur de debito iustitie vel pecunie quam quis iuste potest ab alio petere secundum Augustinum dum habeat ut solvatis, sed loquitur hic de inimicitia et rancore, quod concipimus contra illum offendentem; et illud tenemur dimittere et non primum quia alius quis peteret contra seipsum scilicet quod deus sibi non ignosceret sicut ipse aliis non voluit ignoscere." Tertio … etc. *Cf. VC* 1,37 (171b): "Sicut enim pecuniam ablatam non tenetur quis auferenti dimittere, sed potest eam

repetere; sic pro injuria sibi illata potest recompensationem per emendam petere, secundum ordinem justitiae. Nam secundum Augustinum, non loquitur de debito pecuniae sive justitiae exigendae, sed rancoris et inimicitiae non reinferendae. Quia vero sunt culpae, in quibus culpa est vindictam relaxare; et si peccatum in nos teneamur dimittere, peccatum tamen in Deum, et peccatum in proximum debemus punire." Here Ludolph is following Jordan though Thomas served, via Henry, as Jordan's source: "Hoc non de pecunia dicitur, sed de omnibus quae in nos quisque peccat ac per hoc etiam de pecunia: peccat namque in te qui pecuniam tibi debitam, cum habeat unde reddere, non reddit; quod peccatum si non dimiseris, non poteris dicere *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*." Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:12 (107a).

22 Matth. 6:15. The Vulgate reads: *si autem non dimiseritis hominibus nec Pater vester dimittet pecctata vestra*. Jordan 'added' *peccata eorum* here after *hominibus*, which most likely comes from the preceding verse: *Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum dimittet et vobis Pater vester caelestis delicta vestra* (Matth 6:14). The same applies for Jordan's 'addition' of *celestis*, which though is omitted in most of our manuscript witnesses here. The 'addition' of *vobis* could have come from Matth 6:14 as well, though it is listed as a variant of the Vulgate text in Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonifactianus l from the sixth century and in Paris, BnF MS lat. 11553 of the ninth century, as well as in the the *Clementina*. Jordan was though surely quoting the text from memory and thus most likely was mixing a bit verses 14 and 15. The NJB reads: *Yes, if you forgive others their failings, your heavenly Father will forgive you yours; but if you do not forgive others, your Father will not forgive your failings either* (Matth. 6:14–15).

23 Excusatio … patiaris Cypr. *domin.orat*. 23 (105,439–441)

24 Cf.: "Tertium dubium: Utrum qui odium seu rancorem in mente servat contra proximum, dicendo orationis dominicam, dicere debeat hanc quintam particulam: *Dimitte nobios debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Respondetur quod talis frustra petit quoad se peccati sui remissionem qui non dimittit alii, ut patet ex verbis christi supra allegatis, immo nociva sibi videtur hec petitio si pro se illam porrigat patri celesti, pro quanto mendacio inniti videtur dicens de dimittere sui debitoribus, cum tamen contra eos odium servat et rancorem. Pro quo satisfaciunt auctoritates supra posite lec. lxxiii. Nec tamen propter hoc ab hac oratione debet abstinere secundum sanctum Bonaventuram, quia ex hoc amplius peccatum suum aggravaret arcendo se ab illis saluberrimis petitionibus quas ipsemet dominus docuit et nos orare monuit. Unde orare eam debet in persona ecclesie. Et sic eam orando in persona ecclesie non mentitur, quia illa ut pia mater suis persecutoribus et debitoribus libenter ignoscit, immo ut deus ignoscat fideliter orat dicens: *Oremus pro persequentibus et calumniantibus nos*. Sed nec orando dominicam orationem hanc particulam: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* omittere debet. Gravius enim peccaret si orationem a christo institutam et nobis traditam restringeret, sincoparet aut quomodolibet mutaret … Necessarium itaque est unicuique ut non retineat fraternum odium, quatinus hec dominica oratio ad se sortiatur effectum. Alioquin deo mentitur dicens: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, quod si induratus odium servare statuit et in eo pertinaciter persistere, orationem dominicam non mutet, nec in persona sua, sed ecclesie eam dicat. Sic enim licet sibi inutiliter oret petendo peccati sui remissionem quo ipse carere non vult, sed in eo permanere, tamen vitat peccatum mendacii dicendo: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Quia licet ipse non dimittat, ecclesia

tamen, in cuius persona loquitur, debitoribus suis libenter ignoscit, ut dictum est." Biel, *CME* 86 (270–271). Here we see Biel having constructed his own exposition, though one that parallels to an extent with respect to content, more than a direct textual relationship, Jordan's. For part of his exposition though Biel drew directly from Eggelinus: "Nec tamen ob hoc ab hac oratione dominica debet abstinere secundum Bonaventuram quia ex hoc amplius peccatum suum aggravaret accendo se ab illis saluberrimis petitionibus quas ipsemet dominus nos docuit et orare nos monuit. Unde orare eam debet saltem in persona ecclesie. Etsi eam sic orat in persona ecclesie non mentitur, quia illa ut pia mater suis persecutoribus et debitoribus libent ignoscit immo et ut deus ignoscat fideliter orat dicens: oremus pro persequentibus et calumpniantibus nos et iterum pro inimicis." Eggelinus, *CEM*, fol. 249^{rb}.

25 Apoc. 22:18–19. The Vulgate text reads: *si quis adposuerit ad haec adponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto et si quis deminuerit de verbis libri prophetiae huius auferet Deus partem eius de ligno vitae*. Jordan has *de libro vitae*, rather than *de ligno vitae*, which is listed as a variant in four witnesses of the Vulgate text, though Jordan's *de verbis his* rather than *de verbis libri prophetiae huius* is not listed as a variant. The NJB reads: *if anyone adds anything to them, God will add to him every plague mentioned in the book; if anyone cuts anything out of the prophecies in this book, God will cut off his share of the tree of life*.

26 Distinguendum … condonare Hen. *Exp*., fol. 189^{r}.

27 Innocentius III, *epist*. 85 (*PL* 214, col. 74A).

28 Cf.: "Hiis ergo qui debitoribus non dimittunt, hecc oratio prodesse non uidetur, quinimmo uidetur obesse; nam qui sic petit sibi dimitti sicut debitoribus suis ipse dimittit, profecto si non dimittit ipse debitoribus suis, uidetur petere ut sibi non dimittatur. Sed queritur quid tenetur illi dimittere qui nec satisfacere uult, nec ueniam postulare? Sane distinguendum est inter perfectum et imperfectum. Is qui uiam perfectionis arripuit, debet etiam non petenti ueniam, omnimodis indulgere, unde in canone Innocentii legitur: 'Falsa est penitentia si penitens offenso non satisfacit, aut is offendenti offensus non indulgeat.' Qui uero nondum perfectionis uotum assumpsit tenteur quidem rancorem cordis depondere, sed non tenetur satisfactionem debitam condonare … Quamquam omnes uniuersaliter teneamur diligere inimicos nostros, benefacere hiis qui oderunt nos et orare pro persequentibus et calumpniantibus nos. Quia uero sunt culpe in quis culpa est relaxare uindictam, etsi peccatum in nos teneamur dimittere, peccatum tamen in Deum et peccatum in proximum debemus punire. Quisquis ergo laborat odio uel inuidia grauatur magis hac oratione quam iuuetur, nisi forte iam propositum habeat dimittendi. Verumptamen non in sua quisque, sed in totius Ecclesie uidetur persona orare, unde non dicit: dimitte michi debita mea, sicut ego dimitto debitoribus meis, sed dicit: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Quidam etiam uolunt ita illud intelligi 'dimitte nobis debita nostra' etc. id est sic dimitte nobis debita nostra ut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48,9–11 (513,155–514,185); cf. d'Ailly, *Tract*. 2,3,2 (188). D'Ailly certainly could have been borrowing from Jordan here, as the language and the elements included in his question and response are very similar. There is, though, insufficient textual parallels to determine a textual dependency.

29 Matth. 6:14–15. See comment in note 21 above. Here Jordan still includes *celestis*, but omits the *vobis*.

30 Scit … dimissionem Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth*. 14 (715).

31 *Cf.* CCC 4,2,3,5, which again gives a much abbreviated treatment. The parallel treatment in Biel's *Expositio* is taken directly from Eggelinus's, though Eggelinus's text suggests a possible influence of Jordan's: "Quo propter non docuit nos Christus primo petere peccatorum nostrorum remissionem et posterius peccata dimittere aliis, sed simul petere *dimitte nobis debita nostra sic et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, de quo Crisostomus: non dixit Christus ut prius dimittat nobis debita et posteria nos dimittimus debiotribus nostris. Scit namque deus homines essse mendaces quoniam si acceperit remissionem sui peccati ipsi suis debitoribus non dimitterent sed docuit ut prius dimittamus debitoribus nostris et ita dimitti debita nobis oremus." Eggelinus, CME, fol. 244^{va_b}; "Quapropter non docuit nos christus prius petere peccatorum remissionem, et posterius peccata dimittere aliis, sed simul petere: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. De quo beatus Chrysostomus: Non dixit christus ut prius dimittat nobis debita nostra et postea nos dimittamus debitoribus nostris. Scit nanque deus homines esse mendaces, quoniam si receperint remissionem sui peccati, ipsi suis debitoribus non remitterent. Sed docuit ut prius remittamus debitoribus nostris et ita dimitti nobis debita oremus." Biel, CME 73 (198). Jordan, though, follows Chrysostomus's text more closely than did Eggelinus, and thus consequently than did Biel, perhaps as well indicating Jordan's influence on Eggelinus: "*Si enim non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec Pater vester dimittet vobis*. Nam et superius cum dixisset, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*: non dixit, sicut et nos dimittemus, ut prius nobis Deus dimittat, postea nos debitoribus nostris. Scit enim Dominus omnes homines esse mendaces: quoniam etsi acceperint remissionem peccati sui, ipsi debitoribus suis non dimittunt. Ideo sic dicit, *Dimitte nobis, sicut nos dimittimus*: ut prius dimittamus, postea petamus dimissionem, et a Deo remissionem peccatorum accipiamus." Ps.Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfect*. hom. 14 (PG 56, 715).

32 Iac. 1:20. The NJB reads: *God's saving justice is never served by human anger*.

33 Rom. 12:19; cf. Deut. 32:35; Jer. 51:6. The NJB reads: *Vengence is mine—I will pay them back*. Paul was quoting scripture here (*scriptum est enim*/*As scripture says*:) referencing most likely Deut. 32:35 (*mea est ultio et ego retribuam in tempore ut labatur pes eorum iuxta est dies perditionis et adesse festinat tempora*), though Jordan references the prophet, which would indicate he was thinking, perhaps, of Jeremiah 51:6 (*quoniam tempus ultionis est Domino vicissitudinem ipse retribuet ei*). Jordan though clearly is citing Paul, which he usually acknowledges with reference to 'the Apostle'.

34 Gal. 5:19–21.

35 Prov. 29:22. The NJB reads: *The hot-head provokes disputes*.

36 Per … rumpitur Greg.M. *moral.* 5,45,78 (276,14–277,43)

37 Cf. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* 1,11–13; *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Libri duo Cur Deus Homo*, ed. Hugo Laemmer (Berlin, 1857), 20–24.

38 spiritum … intelliguntur *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 6:12 (IV,25B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25E)

39 Ps. 18:13 (LXX). Jordan adds the vocative *Domine*, which is not listed as a variant in the Vulgate. The NJB reads: *But who can detect his own failings? Wash away my hidden faults*. (Ps. 19:12).

40 Is. 53:11. The Vulgate reads: *in scientia sua iustificabit ipse iustus servus meus multos*. Jordan omits the *ipse iustus servus meus*, though certainly seems implicitly to refer this to Christ. Jordan also used the past tense, *iustificavit*, rather than the Vulgate's future tense *iustifi-*

cabit, though S does have the future tense; no variant is listed for the Vulgate text. The NJB reads: *By his knowledge, the upright one, my servant will justify many*.

41 Gal. 4:6. The Vulgate reads: *quoniam autem estis filii misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamentem Abba Pater*; the NJB reads: *As you are sons, God has sent into our hearts the Spirit of his Son crying, Abba, Father*.

42 beatitudo … sit Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,11,38 (*PL* 34,1286; *CCSL* 35.129,840–842); cf. ibid. 1,4,11 (*PL* 34,1234; *CCSL* 35.11,230–232).

43 Ps. 34:14 (LXX). The NJB reads: *I had wandered restless, as if mourning a mother, so bowed had I been in sorrow* (Ps. 35:14). The NJB is basing its translation on the Hebrew text of the Vulgate, which reads: *sic amubulabam quasi lugens mater tristis incurvabar*.

44 Qui … peccata Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.* 9 (681).

45 Ps. 119:5 (LXX). The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est habitavi cum habitationibus Cedar*. The NJB reads: *How wretched I am, living in Meshech, dwelling in the tents of Kedar!* (Ps. 120:5).

46 Cf.: "Hac petitione ira excluditur, iusticia introducitur, donum scientie largitur, beatitudo luctus obtinetur; unus fructus spiritus sancti scilicet mansuetudo promeretur." *PNcES*.

47 mansuetudo … iram Cf. Arist. *eth.nicom.* 4,5 (ed. Bekker, 78–80).

Lecture 8

1 Matth. 6:13.

2 Iac. 1:12. The NJB reads: *Blessed is anyone who perseveres when trials come*.

3 Iac. 1:2. The Vulgate reads: *omne gaudium existimate fratres mei cum in temptationibus variis incideritis*. Jordan has *in temptationes varias*, which is listed as a variant in six manuscripts of the Vulgate text, and is the reading of the *Clementina*. The NJB reads: *My brothers, consider it a great joy when trials of many kinds come upon you*.

4 Ps. 25:2. The NJB reads: *Probe me, Yahweh, examine me* (Ps. 26:2).

5 est tamen … virtus Cf. Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,9,30–32 (119,637–121,678).

6 quod … vitium Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 189^{r}-^{v}: "*Et ne nos inducas in temptationem*. Hec est sexta petitio que nostrum affectum munit et roborat contra omnem impetum temptationem cum dicit *Et*, etc. Sciendum quod non petimus ne deus nos aliquando permittat temptari quia multotiens temptatio ad nostram utilitatem redundat, ut cum ex ea reddimur humiliores et cautiores, sed petimus ne permittat nos in temptis superari; hoc est enim in temptationem induci consensum ponere temptationi. Unde petimus ut in omni temptatione que nobis ingerimur vel carne, mundo, vel diabolo, quod in illis possimus per auxillium dei victorialiter triumphare. Ad pleniorem intelligendum nota quod ista quinque differunt: temptari, in temptationem incidere, suffere in temptationem, subduci in temptationem, et induci in temptationem. Nam temptari est semper temptatione pulsari, quod neque virtus neque vitium, cum nullus sit ita perfectus qui motus agrestes non sentiat, ut dicit Ambrosius."

7 Mentem … est Cassian. *coll.pat.* 1,17 (506b).

8 Vita … habuerit Aug. *in psalm.* 60,3 (766,3–8); In … habuerit Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 189^{v}: "In temptatione incidere est quando homo impulsus resistendo pugnat et in hoc exercitium virtutis, quia secundum Augustinum, profectus noster in hac vita fit per temptationem.

Neque quisquam sibi innotescit nisi temptatus, neque potest coronari nisi vicerit, nec potest vincere nisi pugnavit, nec potest certare nisi temptatus fuerit."

9 Iac. 1:12.

10 Ambrosius, *De Noe et Arca* 16,57 (*PL* 14, col. 388A).

11 Subduci … cognoscerent Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 189^{v}: "Subduci in temptationem est quando homo per temptationem decipitur et sic diabolus temptat bonos viros qui sine dubio resisterent si laqueos temptationis agnoscerent. Et hoc maxime contingit quando diabolus sub specie boni aliquid noxium nobis suggerit."

12 Ibi … conspicit Greg.M. *moral.* 14,13 (706,3–8); cf. ibid. 32,22 (662)

13 Induci … consentit Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 189^{v}: "Induci in temptationem est quando homo temptationi scienter consentit et per hoc peccatum incurrit."

14 humanum … superari Greg.M. *pastoral.* 1,11 (26A)

15 Cf.: "… qua propter Christus non docuit nos petere ut non temptemur sed ut non in temptationem non inducamur. Ecce temptatus est Iob non est inducatus in temptationem non dedit insipientia deo donet ad illa ad quam trahebatur temptatoris voluntate ore impio blasphemus intravit, temptatus est Ioseph turpi illecebra sed non illatus in temptationem temptata est Zuzanne sed non inducta in temptationem quia non prebuit consensum temptatori. Ita et nos petimus non induci in temptationem id est non consentire temptatori. Unde dicit Beda: Aliud est temptari aliud in temptationem duci. Temptatur quilibet quando in anima vel in corpore in delectatione alicuius vicii titillatur. Inducitur vero in temptationem si sue ceperit delectationi consentire. Et beatus Cyprianus non petimus ne ducamur in temptationem sed ne inducamur. Aliud quidem est in temptationem duci, aliud induci. Intemptationem ducitur qui temptatione pulsari sed non deicitur. In temptationem inducitur qui temptationi succumbit et ab ea superatur. Induci enim est intus duci et succumbere." Eggelinus, *CEM*, fol. 251^{ra-b}; "Idcirco christus non docuit nos petere, ut non tentemur, sed ut in tentationem non inducamur. Ecce, tentatus est iob, non tamen inductus est in tentationem. Non enim ad illam ad quam trahebatur tentatoris voluptatem ore impio blasphemus intravit. Tentatus est ioseph turpi illecebra, sed non illatus in tentationem. Tentata est susanna, sed non inducta, quia non prebuit consensum tentatori. Ita et nos petimus non induci in tentationem, id est non consentire tentationi. Unde dicit Bernardus: Aliud est tentari, aliud in tentationem duci. Tentatur quilibet, quando in anima aut corpore in delectatione alicuius vicii titillatur. Inducitur in tentationem, si sue ceperit delectationi consentire. Et beatus Cyprianus: Non petimus, ne ducamur in tentationem, sed ne inducamur. Aliud quidem est in tentationem duci, aliud induci. In tentationem ducitur, qui tentationi succumbit et ab ea superatur. Induci etiam est intus duci et succumbere, et tentationi prebere consensum." Biel, *CME* 78 (298–299). Here Biel's exposition is closer to that of Jordan than it is to d'Ailly's: "Ubi primo notandum est, quod per hoc non simpliciter petimus, ut non tentemur; quia tentari non est per se malum, sed quandoque valet ad virtutis exercitium, quando scilicet ei viriliter resistitur: propter quod dicit psalmus, *Proba me Dominie, et tenta me*. Sed petimus ne in tentationem inducamur, ita ut ab ipsa vincamur; quasi dicamus, etsi nos permittas duci per sensum, ut exercitemur: non tamen permittas induci per consensum, ut succumbamus; tunc enim inducimur, id est, intus ducimur, quando intus a tentatione vincimur." D'Ailly, *Tract.* 1,8,2 (178).

16 si … exuratur Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,9,32 (121,672–674)

17 In hac … ad obiecta *Cf. VC* 1,37 (172a): "Aliud est in tentationem duci et aliud induci: in tentationem enim ducitur qui a tentatione pulsatur, sed non dejicitur; in tentationem inducitur qui tentationi succumbit, et ab ea separatur. Induci enim est *intus duci*, et succumbere. Ostendit ergo non id a nobis orandum esse ut non tentemur, quia tentari non est malum, sed magis utile, et ad virtutis exercitium quando viriliter resistitur, nam sine tentatione nemo potest probatus esse, sive sibiipsi, sive alii; sed ne deserti ejus adjutorio per blanda vel aspera in tentationem per consensum inducamur, ne alicui tentationi vel consentiamus decepti, vel cedamus afflicti, et sic ab ea devincamur, a Deo deserti."

18 Iac. 1:13. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *nemo cum temptatur dicat quoniam a Deo temptor Deus enim intemptator malorum est ipse autem neminem temptat*. The NJB reads: *Never, when you are being put to the test, say, 'God is tempting me'; God cannot be tempted by evil, and he does not put anybody to the test*.

19 Ex. 10:1; cf. Ex. 10:20; Ex. 10:27; Ex. 11:10. Ex. 10:1 reads: *ego enim induravi cor eius et servorum illius*; Ex. 10:20 reads: *et induravit Dominus cor Pharaonis*; Ex. 10:27 reads: *induravit autem Dominus cor Pharaonis*; and Ex. 11:10 reads: *et induravit Dominus cor Pharaonis*. Jordan's text reads: *ego induravi cor Pharaonis*, combining thus Ex. 10:1 with Ex. 10:20, or 10:27, or Ex. 11:10, replacing Ex. 10:1's *cor eius*, with the later verses' *cor Pharaonis*, though otherwise quoting Ex. 10:1. The NJB reads: *I have made him and his officials stubborn* (Ex. 10:1); *But Yahweh made Pharaoh stubborn* (Ex. 10:20, 10:27, and 11:10). Sed … permisi Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 189^{v}: "Sciendum quod deus neminem inducit in temptationem causaliter et effective quia ipse intemptator malorum est, ut dicit Iacobus, sed permissive. Unde est sensus: *ne nos*, etc., idest, ne nos induci permittas. Sciendum quodammodo etiam deus dicitur indurare iuxta illud *induravi cor pharonis*, idest, indurari permisi, non quidem impartiendo malitiam, sed subtrahendo gratiam, ut dicit Augustinus." Dicendum … permisi Cf. *VC* 1,37 (171b): "Unde est sensus *ne nos inducas* id est, ne permittas nos induci intentationem et tentari supra id quod possumus ferre, sed fac cum tentatione etiam exitum, ut possimus sustinere, ne irretiti teneamur et superemur ejus fortitudine. Quasi diceret: Etsi nos permittas duci per sensum ut exercitemur, non tamen permittas induci per consensum ut succumbamus. Causaliter quidem efficiendo Deus per seipsum non inducit, sed permissive et deserendo patitur induci eum quem suo auxilio deserit, *sicut cor Pharaonis induravit*, id est, indurari permisit, et sicut dicitur quod *non est malum in civitate quod Dominus* [Amos 3:6] non facit, id est, quod fieri non permittat."

20 Gen. 22:1. The NJB reads: *God put Abraham to the test*.

21 exercearis … inveniaris Aug. *in psalm*. 61,20 (788,34–35).

22 Ps. 25:2. Cf.: "Sed dicendum est quod Deus quodammodo temptat, et quodammodo non temptat: temptat ut probet, iuxta illus: *Proba me, Domine, et tempta me*; non temptat ut fallat, secundum illud: *Deus neminem temptat*. Petimus ergo ne nos Deus in temptationem inducat, id est ne permittat induci." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 48, 8 (512,113–117).

23 Sed … mundi Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 189^{v}–190^{r}: "Sed dices: cur petimus non induci in temptationem cum deus etiam effective temptaverit Abraham, unde legitur Gen.: *temptat* etc.? Respondeo quod duplex est temptatio: una probationis, et hoc modo deus temptat sanctos suos, ut virtutem ipsorum aliis ponat in exemplum, et hoc modo deus temptat Abraham, ut eius fidem et obedientiam ponere nobis in exemplum; alia est temptatio deceptionis et subversionis, et hoc modo deus neminem temptat. Et hec temptatio fit tribus modis scilicet a carne, ab hoste, a mundo." D'Ailly likewise has a three-fold agent of temptation:

"Tertio notandum, quod tria sunt quae nos tentant ad malum, scilicet mundus, caro, diabolus: mundus tentat per prospera et adversa; caro per carnalia desideria; diabolus per varia deceptionum genera." D'Ailly, *Tract*. 1,8,4 (179).

24 Eph. 6:12. See note 25 below.

25 Eph. 6:12. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *quia non est nobis conluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus*. The NJB reads: *For it is not against human enemies that we have to struggle, but against the principalities and the ruling forces who are masters of the darkness in this world, the spirits of evil in the heavens*.

26 Sed dices … et mundi *Cf. VC* 1,37 (171b): *"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, scilicet carnis, ut nos non absorbeat per voluptatem; vel mundi, ut nos non comburat per cupiditatem; vel diaboli, ut nos non perdat per iniquitatem. Est autem tentatio duplex: una scilicet probationis, et hac Deus sanctos bene tentat, non ut ipse per hoc de eis notitiam capiat, cui ante omnes tentationes quisque notissimus est, sed ut ipsi seipsos probent, et sibiipsis innotescant qui se nesciebant; alia est tentatio deceptionis, et hac Deus neminem tentat, sed fit a carne quae suggerit mollia, et a mundo qui offert vana, et ab hoste qui ingerit amara, sed Deus bene permittit in hanc induci ex causa."

27 Bernardus, *Sermones de Tempore, In Quadragesima* 5,1 (*PL* 183, col. 178D). Though Jordan cited Gregory here, the citation is found in Bernard.

28 Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3,5,24 (*PL* 83, col. 664B). This phrase was used by many authors after Isidore, but Isidore seems to have been the original author; it is not, though, found in Hugh of St. Victor's works. Jordan was apparently citing from memory here, as in note 27 above with the citation to Gregory, though the passage is found in Bernard.

29 Bernardus, *Sermones de Tempore, In Ascensione, sermo* 5,2 (*PL* 183, col. 316D).

30 This citation is attributed to Bernard in the *Manipulus Florum* (available online at: web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFuaria/MundusS.pdf) and was collected in *Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 33, ed. C. Van Deyck (Brussels, 1963), 67. Cf. Jordan's treatment of this petition with the brief treatment in *CCC* 4,2,3,6; cf.: "Sexta peticio. *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem*: carnis, mundi, dyaboli, quia caro inficit, mundus deficit, dyabolus decipit; clamat autem: ego inficio, ego deficio, ego decipio." *PNcES*.

31 De … diaboli Hen. *Exp*. fol. 190^{r}: "Et de hiis tribus temptationibus simul dicit beatus Bernardus: Mundus clamat: ego deficiam; caro clamat: ego inficiam; diabolus clamat: ego decipiam; Christus vero dicit: ego reficiam. Vide ergo quod ex hiis sequi voluerit. Dicamus ergo *et ne nos inducas in temptationem* carnis inficientis, mundi deficientis, diaboli decipientis." The parallel treatment in Biel is again taken from Eggelinus, though there could be a slight indication of Jordan's influence seeping through when we find Eggelinus talking about the 'nets' of temptations (*temptationum retia*) whereas Jordan and Biel are more emphatic in using the imagery of the 'noose' (*laqueum*) of temptation: "Insurgit contra nos caro, trahit mundus, insidiatur diabolus; suggerit caro voluptatem, mundus vanitatem, diabiolus iniquitatem; caro mollia, mundus inania, diabolus mortifera; caro infestat per lasciva desideria, mundus per prospera et adversa, diabolus per turpitudines et vicia. Quorum nos vertimus tentationum laqueos ad capiendas animas invenimus. Insidiantur nobis hi nostri inimici, et undique nos deeicere festinant, in esu et potu, in opere et verbo, in vigilia et somno, in cogitatu et delectatione, in divitiis et paupertate, in scientia et humilitate, in

continentia et parcitate, in patientia et rigore, et in omni nobis materia occurrente." Biel, *CME* 77 (273); "Insurgit contra nos caro, trahit nos mundus pugnat adversum nos adversarius. Petimus contra hoc defensionem orantes et ne nos inducas in temptationem. Sugerit caro volumptatem, mundus vanitatem, diabolus iniquitatem; caro mollia mundus inania, diabolus mortifera; caro infestat per mala desideria, mundus per prospera et adversa, diabolus per turpitudines et vicia. Ex quocumque latere nos intimus temptationum retia ad capiendam animas invenimus. Insidiantur nobis et undique nos conturbat inimici in esu et potu, in verbo et opere, in cogitatu et delectatione, in sompnio et vigilia, in diviciis et scientia, in paupertate et continencia, in humilitate et pacientia, et in omni virtuosa." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 251*vb*.

32 Greg.M. *moral.* 21,2,4 (*PL* 76, col. 190B).

33 Jordan most likely took his citation from Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus Florum*: "Prudentis est ne quem in casum incidit cauere, et si quod forte acciderit, fortiter ferre. Fortis nemo potest iudicare nisi et prudens fuerit. Virtus enim sine sapiencia temeritas periculosa putanda est. Socrates in suis sententiis." *Manuipulus Florum*, Prudencia siue Prouidencia, available online at: www.manipulusflorum.com; web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/PrudenciaZ.pdf. Cf. Ps-Caecilius Balbus, *De nugis philosophorum* 2,1: "Sapientis est, ne quem in casum incidat, cavere et si quid forte acciderit fortiter ferre." From the Codex Monacensis, available online at: http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/caecilius_balbus/nugis.html; cf. Cassiodorus, *Historia Ecclesiastica, vocata Tripartita*, 1,19: "Hujusmodi enim quaestiones, quae non cujusquam legis necessitate proponuntur, inutilis vacationis tempus exquirunt. Et licet causa cujuspiam naturalis exercitii fiant, tamen debemus eas intra sensum claudere, et non prompte in publica conciliabula deportare, nec omnium auribus inconsulte committere. Quantus enim est unusquisque hominum, ut possit ita magnarum rerum et valde difficilium virtutem aut ad perfectum inspicere, aut interpretari digne? Aut si quis hoc facere, difficile tamen, possit, quantae parti populi suadebit? Aut quis tantarum quaestionum subtilitates extra lapsus sui periculum sustinebit? Ergo fugienda sunt in talibus multiloquia, ne forte dum infirmitate nostrae naturae minime quod proponitur explicatur, mente discentium auditorum pro tardiori intellectu ad perfectam quaestionis perceptionem pervenire non valente, ad necessitatem blasphemiae, aut schismatis populus abducatur. Quapropter et interrogationes incautae, et responsiones improvidae aequam alterutris veniam tribuant ex utroque. Non enim pro summo legis mandato apud vos occasio certaminis inflammata est, neque nova quaedam pro Dei religione haeresis introducta; sed unam eamdemque rationem habetis, sicut etiam unum communionis signum. Vobis enim inter alterutros pro parvulis et valde modicis contendentibus causis, tantum Dei populum, quem vestris orationibus et prudentia convenit gubernari, discordare nec decet, nec omnino fas esse credibile est. Ut autem parvo quodam exemplo sapientiam vestram commoneam, nostis etiam ipsos philosophos quia in uno quidem dogmate cuncti consentiunt; cum vero in quadam sententiae parte discordant, licet disciplinae virtute separentur, tamen ad invicem corporis unitate conspirant. Cum haec ita sint, quanto potius justum est vos, magni Dei ministros, in voluntate religionis alterutris esse concordes? Consideremus itaque ratione majori, et ampliori intelligentia cogitemus, si recte se habeat propter parva et vana sermonum certamina fratres fratribus resultare, et honorem concilii per vos impia contentione discerpere, dum ad invicem pro sic parvis et nequaquam necessariis liti-

gatis. Vulgaria sunt haec et infantum fatuitatibus magis accommodanda, quam sacrorum virorum et prudentium intelligentiae consona. Recedamus ergo volentes a tentationibus diabolicis. Magnus Deus noster Salvator universorum commune omnibus lumen effulsit, cujus providentia hoc meum, ministri Dei, studium ad perfectionem venire permittite; ut vos illius populum mea allocutione, et ministerio, et monitionis instantia, ad synodalem possim revocare communionem: quia, sicut dixi, una quaedam in vobis est fides, et unus secundum vos haereseos intellectus, legisque praeceptum suis partibus in unius voluntatis propositum tendit. Hoc ergo quod vobis inter alia contentionem excitavit, quoniam non attinet ad totius legis virtutem, separationem quamdam et seditionem inter vos non debet efficere. Dico autem haec non tanquam cogens vos omnibus modis huic satis optimae et qualiscunque sit, consentire quaestioni; potest enim et honor concilii a vobis integer custodiri, et una atque eadem omnibus communio conservari, licet aliqua in vobis particulariter ad invicem pro parvo quodam contentio generetur: quoniam non omnes in omnibus idem volumus, neque una in nobis natura versatur, aut voluntas una cognoscitur. De divina siquidem providentia una quaedam in vobis sit fides, una prudentia, unus in Deo consensus. Quae vero pro his frivolis quaestionibus inter alterutros disputata sunt, licet non in unam sententiam colligantur, manere tamen intra sensum debent, mentis ineffabilitate servata. Communis autem charitatis praecipuum sacramentum, et veritatis fides, et honor circa Deum atque religionem legis apud vos inconcusse permaneat. Revertimini ergo ad alterutras amicitias atque gratiam; reddite universo populo vestros amplexus; vosque ipsos, velut proprias animas expiantes, alterutros rursus agnoscite. Suaviores enim crebro sunt amicitiae post inimicitiarum causas ad concordiam restitutae. Reddite ergo mihi tranquillos dies noctesque securas, ut quaedam jucunditas puri luminis et vitae jam quietae apud me laetitia conservetur; alioquin fuerit necessitas ingemendi, et semper lacrymis ingravari, et nequam saeculum libenter ferre vivendi. Dei namque populos, id est confamulos meos, sic injuste et noxia vestri contentione divisos, congregari jam tempus est. Ut autem hujusmodi tristitiae meae magnitudinem sentiatis, audite. Dudum veniens ad Nicomediensium civitatem, repente ad Orientem pergere festinabam. Cumque ad vos tenderem, et plurima jam parte vobiscum essem, hujus rei nuntio sum retentus: ne oculis videre compellerer quae impossibile judicabam ad sensum aurium posse pervenire. Quapropter aperite jam mihi per vestram concordiam Orientis vias, quas contentione clausistis alterutra; velociterque mihi concedite, vosque ipsos et alios universos populos videre laetos, et pro communi omnium concordia ac libertate debitam gratiarum actionem favorabilibus eloquiis Deo persolvere. SOCRATES." (*PL* 69, col. 918B–920B).

34 Matth. 10:16. The NJB reads: *be cunning as snakes*. Introducitur … serpentis Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 190^{r}: "Et quia ab hiis hostibus nobis insidiantibus liberari non possumus nisi per auxilium divine gratie et circumspectionem et providentiam sollicitam ipsius prudentie, ideo humilibus nostrum ad resistendum temptationibus necessaria est providentia et prudentia, cuius proprium est insidias et fraudes temptatoris providere et cum providentia declinare. Hinc est cum dominus dimitteret discipulos suos in mundum hanc providentiam eos docuit volens eos cautos reddere contra temptationes: *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes*."

35 Matth. 7:13. The NJB reads: *Enter by the narrow gate*.

36 Bernardus *Sermones de Tempore* 1,2 (*PL* 183, col. 169A).

37 Prudentia … temporali Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 190^{r-v}: "Prudentia autem serpentis quantum ad presens perpenditur ex tribus. Primo ex eo quod veterem pellem per artum foramen deponit sic et nos ne in temptationem inducamur, debemus pellem veteris conversationis deponere transeundo per artum foramen castigationis rigide ac etiam per observantiam perfectionis evangelice. Ideo scribitur Matthei 7: *Intrate ad gaudia celestia per angustam portam* evangelice perfectionis. Unde Bernardus: O bone Iesu, tu prius instrasti per angustum passionis foramen ut sequentibus membris preberes ingressum, et istud est optimum remedium contra temptationes carnis recolere amaritudinem dominice passionis et castigare corpus in abstinentia et vigillis. Secundo, quia serpens solem diligit et solis caloribus se exponit cum sic nature frigide, sic et nos tempore temptationis solem divine gratie debemus expetere, ut ipse deus nos, qui sumus frigidi et debiles temptationes resistendi sua virtute comfortet. Et hoc potissimum remedium contra nequitas diaboli, ut sue insidie per virtutem sancti spiritus conterantur et sic eius presidio muniti hostibus insidiis triumphemus. Tertio, serpens totum corpus pro capite exponit. Sic nos tempore temptationis et persecutionum pro mente nostra tuenda que est caput nostrum morti et afflictionibus exponere. Et hoc precipue necessarium est in temptationibus mundi propter ipsam fidem vel aliquid aliud necessarium ad salutem. Nam antequam homo consentiret in peccatum mortale potius deberet subire mortem et omnem penam temporalem." Prudentia … temporali Cf. Ps.Aug. *erem*. 4 (1241); *sermo* 4 Jor. *Coll*. fol., 6^{rb}–7^{vb}.

38 Spiritum … moveatur *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:13 (IV,26A; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F)

39 1 Tim. 4:8. The NJB reads: *Physical exercise is useful enough, but the usefulness of religion is unlimited*.

40 Corporalis … demonis Cf. *Glos.ord*. ad 1 Tim. 4:8 (IV,409B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 120F).

41 2 Pet. 2:9. Jordan cites 1 Pet. 2, but he quotes 2 Pet. 2:9. The Vulgate reads: *novit Dominus pios de temptatione eripere*. Two manuscripts lists *deus* as a variant for *Dominus*; Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus I, from the sixth century, and Alcuin's exemplar. Jordan's text reads *in temptatione*, though manuscripts C, F, and G, and S, as the Vulgate, read *de temptatione*. The NJB reads: *the Lord is well able to rescue the good from their trials*.

42 De … dei Hen. *Exp*., fol. 190^{v}: "Est sciendum quod secundum Glossam in ista petitione petimus spiritum pietatis, per quem homo interior mansuescit et mitis redditur, ne in temptationibus et precipue in contumeliis et iniuriis sibi illatis moveatur, sed fortiter et patienter resistat. Et si quandoque deus nos temptari permittat, quod per auxilium et virtutem eius citius liberemur, donum enim pietatis secundum Apostolum, valet ad omnem temptationem superandam; ideo dicit ⟨quod⟩ pietas ad omnia valet; corporalis autem exercitatio ad modicum utilis est, quia solum valet contra temptationes carnis. Sciendum quod pietas est quoddam donum et quidam habitus supernaturalis quo spiritus sanctus nos movet et inclinat ut affectum filialem per fervidam caritatem habeamus ad deum. Et ex hoc convenienter nos movet ad miserandum proximis quodam pio affectu eorum neccessitatibus compatiendo et quantum possumus eorum indigentias relevando … Misericordia est salutis presidium, fidei ornamentum, propitiatio peccatorum; hoc est: qui iustos probat, sanctos roborat, dei cultores in eternitate magnificat."

43 dono … mititatis Aug. *de serm.dom*. 2,11,38 (128,833–834); cf. ibid. 1,4,11 (11,228–230).

44 *Non invenitur*.

45 Cf.: "Quasi dicamus: da nobis spiritum pietatis et mansuetudinem spiritus, ut per spiritum pietatis uincamus temptationem, exercendo nos ad pietatem, et per mansuetudinem

spiritus uincamus iram, non reddendo malum pro malo. Vincamus etiam inuidiam que opponitur pietatis, ut ita possideamus terram uiuentium quam per spiritum pietatis et mansuetudinem spiritus obtinebimus." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 48, 8 (512,121–513,127).

46 nullius … possiderit Cf. Aug. *in psalm.* 145,11 (2113,17–31).

47 Cf.: "Hac petitione luxuria excluditur; prudencia introducitur; donum pietatis largitur; beatitudo mititatis obtinetur; duo fructus spiritus sancti continentia castitas promerentur." *PNcES*.

Lecture 9

1 Matth. 6:13.

2 in … sumus Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,9,35 (125,762–764); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108a).

3 claudimus … est Cypr. *domin.orat.* 27 (107,501–512); cf. Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108a).

4 Sed … Cyprianus Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 191r: "*Sed libera nos a malo*. Hec est ultima particula orationis dominice, que nostrum affectum attollit ad fervide recurrendum ad divinum presidium, optat per ipsum ab omni malo liberari. Unde in hac ultima parte petimus liberari a malo scilicet ipsius temptationis et cuiuslibet tribulationibus, quare dicamus hos permittas nos temptari ultra id quod possumus, sed fac etiam cum temptatione proventum auxilii ut temptationem nobis incubentem possimus sustinere et de ipsa victorialiter triumphare. Et ideo secundum Cyprianum, in hoc claudimus omnes partes nostras quia postquam per divinam protectionem ab omni malo fuerimus liberati tuti erimus et securi nec aliud restat petendum. Est autem sciendum quod ista coniuctio adversativa non ponitur hic adversative quasi aliquid dictorum corrigat, sed magis coniunctive, ut illud quid sequitur predictis adicias quasi dicit, non solum predicta nobis facias, sed etiam id quod sequitur predictis adicias, potius tamen voluit dicere, 'sed' quantum 'et' ut ostenderet hanc petitionem esse aliam a premissa, ut dicit Cyprianus."

5 Notandum … culpe Cf. Hen. *Exp.*, fol. 191r: "Hic petimus ut ab omni malo iminuiti liberemur et hoc a triplici malo scilicet a malo culpe quod inquinat, a malo pugne quod inquietat, et a malo pene eterne quod absorbet et devorat, quasi dicens finaliter hoc nunc petimus ut liberes nos a peccato animam inquinante et ab inferis animam et corpus cruciante et crudeliter devorante, a diabolo nos hostiliter impugnante."

6 iam … sumus Aug. *de serm.dom.* 2,9,35 (125,764).

7 Notandum … future *Cf. VC* 1,37 (172a): "Post hoc sequitur petitio septima et ultima: *Sed libera nos a malo*, scilicet omni, vel innato quod contrahimus, scilicet originali; vel adjecto quod committimus, scilicet actuali; vel inflicto quod sustinemus, scilicet poenali, id est poena consequenti. Vel *a malo* omni, visibili et invisibili, id est, culpae et poenae; vel *a malo* omni, scilicet praeterito, praesenti, et futuro. Et notandum quod haec petitio non intelligitur de malo culpae jam perpetratae, quia tunc coincideret cum quinta petitione: sed culpae instantis perpetrari possibilis, a quo malo liberari nos petimus, ne videlicet peccemus. Item non intelligitur de malo poenae futurae, quia tunc coincideret haec petitio cum secunda, sed poenae praesentis in quantum est nobis causa et occasio ruinae. Potest etiam accipi de malo poenae futurae, ita quod petamus sic nos liberari a malo praesenti, ut non incurramus malum poenae futurae. Et ab omnibus praedictis petimus liberari, orantes, et loquentes in persona Ecclesiae. Sed qui vult a malis liberari, studeat

malis proximis compati, quia qui vult inpetrare misericordiam a Deo, necesse est ut exhibeat eam proximo."

8 triplici … futuris Cf. Thom.Aq. *Sup.Matth*. 602 (93b); "Sane, in hac oratione oratur pro bonis adipiscendis et pro malis uitandis: pro bonis temporalibus, spiritualibus et eternis; pro malis preteritis, presentibus et futuris." Durandus, *Rat*. IV, 47, 6 (507,91–93).

9 *Missale Romanum, canon missae*, available online at: http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/lmass/ord.htm, p. 471.

10 *Cf.* CCC 4,2,3,7; *"Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos*. Hec est tertia pars principalis orationis dominice in qua postquam in secunda petita est a deo patre bonorum collacio tam quo ad ea que pertinet ad dei honorem et reverentiam quam quo ad illa que pertinent ad nostram salutem et indigentiam, in hac petitur consequenter malorum ablatio sive nocivorum exclusio et quia triplicia sunt mala a quibus petere debemus liberari presencia scilicet preteria et futura …" Eggelinus, *CME* fol. 240va. It should be noted that Eggelinus advocates an interpretation that Jordan rejects, at least in part, namely the evil from which we seek to be freed as being present, past, and future evil. Biel follows Eggelinus in general here, though we could see perhaps influence of Jordan as well. Both Biel and Eggelinus treat the evil in which we now find ourselves in the fifth petition, *And Forgive Us our Debts*: *"Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Ista est pars secunda secunde partis principalis dominice orationis, in qua post petitionem collationis bonorum, petitur ablatio malorum. Sunt autem triplicia mala a quibus liberari petimus, scilicet preterita, presentia et futura, vel melius: maxima, media, et minima, quorum quelibet esse possunt presentia, preteria vel futura … Mala media sunt peccatorum occasiones, que inducunt ac precipitant in mala culpe, quales sunt tentationes demonis, mundi vel carnis." Biel, *CME* 72 (184).

11 Triplici … deicimur Bernardus *sermo* 7,1 *In Adventu* (*PL* 183 col. 55A); cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 191^{v}: "Et hoc malum est triplex secundum beatum Bernardum in semone de adventu domini: Sumus enim fideles faciles ad seducendum quantum ad rationalem, debiles ad operandum quantum ad concupiscibilem, fragiles ad resistendum quantum ad irascibilem, quia ut ipse dicit, si discernere volumus inter bonum et malum decipimur. Si attemptamus facere bonum deficimus. Si conamur malo resistere deicimur."

12 Cf.: "Septima peticio. *Sed libera nos a malo*: decipimur in cognoscendo; deficimus in operando; deicimur in resistendo: quia sumus faciles, debiles, fragiles ad seducendum, operandum, resistendum, quantum ad racionalem, concupiscibilem, irasciblem." *PNcES*.

13 accidia … torpor Ps.Bern. *Vitis Mystica seu tractatus de passione Domini* 19 (*PL* 184, col. 674D).

14 Per … tedio Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 192^{r}: "Per hanc petitionem excluditur accidia, que secundum Bernardum est quidam animi torpor quo quis negligit aliqua bona inchoare aut fastidium habet perficere. Et iste torpor animi et corporis causat in nobis triplex malum predictum, quo in presenti laboramus, secundum Bernardum, quod patet. Accidiosus enim tepet in studio lectionis vel orationis et torpet in exercitio virtuose actionis, sed languet pre tedio virtuosi laboris. Ideo dicit Bernardus in epistola quod accidia est quidam animi languor cum legere non libet, orare nec delectat, meditatio sollicite devotionis nec sentitur. Est advertendum quod per hanc petitionem, ut dicit Glossa, postulamus donum timoris per quod liberamur a triplici malo predicto."

15 Cass. *epist*. 39 (*PL* 69, col. 535A).

16 desidiosa … est Seneca, *epist*. 71,23,4; Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, vol. 1, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1965).

17 pigro … est Sen. *epist*. 71,23,3; ibid.

18 Bernard *Super Cant. sermo* 54 (*PL* 183, col. 1041D–1042A)

19 *Non invenitur*. This reference is repeated by Alardus Gazaeus (1566–1626) in his commentary on Cassian's *Institutes*, *PL* 49, col. 359C (note).

20 Declinat … temperantie Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nicom*. 2,5 (ed. Bekker, 29–30)

21 Gen. 2:9. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *produxitque Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum pulchrum visu et ad vescendum suave lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi lignumque scientiae boni et mali*. The NJB reads: *From the soil, Yahweh God caused to grow every kind of tree, enticing to look at and good to eat, with the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.*

22 Thom.Aq., *STh* II/II, q. 143, art. 1 resp. (2123b): "Circa motus autem et actus corporales moderationem et refrenationem facit modestia. Quam Andronicus in tria dividit. Ad quorum primum pertinet discere quid sit faciendum et quid dimittendum, et quid pro quo ordine sit agendum, et in hoc firmiter persistere: et quantum ad hoc ponit bonum ordinationem. Aliud autem est quod homo in eo quod agit decentiam observet: et quantum ad hoc ponit ornatum. Tertium autem est in colloquiis amicorum, vel quibuscumque aliis: et quantum ad hoc ponitur austeritas. Circa exteriora vero duplex moderatio est adhibenda. Primo quidem ut superflua non requirantur: et quantum ad hoc pontiur a Macrobio parcitas, et ab Andronico per se sufficientia. Secundo vero ut homo non nimis exquisita requirat: et quantum ad hoc ponit Macrobius moderationem, Andronicus vero simplicitatem."

23 Thom.Aq., *STh* II/II, q. 155, art. 1 contra (2187a): "Omnis habitus laudabilis videtur esse virtus. Sed continentia est huiusmodi, dicit enim Andronicus quod continentia est habitus invictus a delectatione. Ergo continentia est virtus."

24 temperantia … discipulorum Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nicom*. 2,2,9 (ed. Bekker, 26) et 2,7 (ed. Bekker, 33–36).

25 ab … liberamur *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:13 (IV,26A).

26 Prov. 15:27. This phrase listed as a variant for Prov. 15:27, witnessed by the *Cavensis*, Cava, Archivio della Badia MS I (14), of the nineth century, and Metz, Bibl. mun. MS 7 of the eighth century, as well as by the LXX and the *Clementina*. This passage is not mentioned by the NJB. Jordan most likely was using a text of the Vulgate in the *Cavensis* tradition, which also is in keeping with many other of his readings variant to the edited Vulgate text.

27 Sir. 1:16. The NJB reads: *The fullness of wisdom is to fear the Lord* (Eccli. 1:16).

28 Sir. 19:18. The Vulgate reads: *omnis sapientia timor Dei*. The NJB reads: *Wisdom consists entirely in fearing the Lord* (Eccli. 19:20).

29 Prov. 14:26. The NJB reads: *In the fear of Yahweh is powerful security*.

30 sicut … gignit Greg.M. *moral*. 5,16,33 (241,12–15)

31 Ps. 24:14 (LXX). The NJB reads: *only those who fear Yahweh possess his secret and his covenant for their understanding* (Ps. 25:14). Jordan follows the LXX here, whereas the NJB translated the Hebrew, which in the Vulgate reads: *secretum Domini timentibus eum et pactum suum ostendet eis* (Ps. 24:14).

32 Principium … possidetur Cassian. *inst*. 4,43 (202A); cf. ibid. 4,39 (198C).

33 Lberati … cupimus *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 6:13 (IV,26A; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F)

34 pauper … corde *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 5:3 (IV,26A; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 18B); Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.* 9 (680).

35 *Non invenitur*

36 *Non invenitur*

37 Is. 25:4. The Vulgate reads: *quia factus es fortitudo pauperi.* Three manuscripts read *est*, as does Jordan, rather than *es*: the *Cavensis*, Cava, Archivio della Badia Ms I (14) of the ninth century; Orléans, Bibl. mun. Ms 17 (14), from the eighth to ninth century; and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. Ms 40 from the eighth century. The NJB reads: *For you have been a refuge for the weak*. The Greek for the Vulgate's *pauperi* here is ταπεινῇ, which is 'poor', but in the sense of 'humble' or 'lowly', or even 'insignificant', which makes perfect sense in context of Isaiah then claiming that the Lord is the 'fortitude' of the lowly, humble, insignificant. The NJB's *weak* likewise does not really get at the contrast. ταπεινός is likewise the Greek for 'the poor' in Is. 66:2 below.

38 unde … mendici Ps.Chrysost. *in Matth.* 9 (680).

39 Is. 66:2. The Vulgate reads: *ad quem autem respiciam nisi ad pauperculum et contritum spiritu et trementem sermones meos*. Jordan has here omitted the *et contritum spiritu*, which is not attested in any of the witnesses used here. The NJB reads: *to the person of humbled and contrite spirit who trembles at my word.* The NJB seems to consider *contritum spiritu* to be synonymous with *pauperculum*, and it does 'get at' the meaning of the Greek; see comment in note 37 above.

40 redit … caput Aug. *de serm.dom.* 1,4,12 (12,250); cf. *Glos.ord.* ad Matth. 5:10 (IV,26A; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 18A).

41 Cf.: "Hac peticione accidia excluditur; temperancia introducitur; donum timoris largitur; beatitudo paupertatis obtinetur; fructus spiritus sancti scilicet patiencia promeretur." *PNcES*.

42 felicitas … virtutis Cf. Arist. *Eth.Nicom.* 1,6,15–16 (ed. Bekker, 8).

43 This treatise of Jordan's is not known. Here below one will find Jordan's *Exposition of the Tree of the Virtues and Vices/Expositio Arboris*. This though cannot be Jordan's lost *De arbore virtutum* cited here, as the *Expositio Arboris* is not divided into chapters. This is the only reference to this work that I have found. Nor is it mentioned, even as a lost work, in Zumkeller, *MSS*, or in Hümpfner and Arbesmann's edition of Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum*, in the introduction to which they give a thorough overview of Jordan's works.

Lecture 10

1 *Cf. CCC* 4,2,4.

2 neque … Hebraica Aug. *in evang.Ioh.* 41:3 (359,15–16); cf. *VC* 1,37 (172a): "Hoc autem verbum est Hebraeum, et nec Graecus interpres ausus est interpretari, nec Latinus, propter reverentiam Salvatoris qui ad confirmandum veritatem saepe eo est usus."

3 Apoc. 3:14. The full verse in the Vulgate reads: *et angelo Laodiciae ecclesiae scribe haec dicit Amen testis fidelis et verus qui est principium creaturae Dei.* The NJB reads: *Write to the angel of the church in Laodicea and say, 'Here is the message of the Amen, the trustworthy, the true witness, the Principle of God's creation'.*

4 Amen … dicere Hier. *in Matth.* 1 (37,788–789); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108a); cf.: "Amen. Hoc verbo hec oratio dominica concluditur et in ipso oratio terminatur et secundum beatum Augustinum dicto est neque greca neque latina sed ebraica, que sicut quedam alie dictiones ebraice in libris interpretata non invenimus quales sunt alleluia, racha et osanna. … Sumitur autem hec dictio amen tripliciter. Primo nominaliter et sic tamen valet sicut verax vel veritas et ita capitur in Apokalypsis cum dicitur: Hec dicitur Amen id est veritas. Secundum sumitur verbaliter sive est verbum ebraicum et tantum valet sicut verbum fiat, et ita communiter capitur in fine orationum ubi exprimit desiderium orantis quia optatum est respectu bonorum precedencium et optationum implecionis respectu omnium petitionum. Tertio capitur adverbialiter et ita frequenter capitur in evangelio cum dicitur *amen dico vobis* et tantum valet sicut vere vel fideliter et est adverbium affirmandi id est ita est vel verum est." Eggelinus, *CME*, fol. 262^{va-b}; "*Amen*. Hec est pars tertia et ultima principalis dominice orationis, eiusque conclusio, qua optatur rationis efficacio et exauditio in isto unico verbulo *amen* hebraico. Est enim *amen*, secundum Augustinum, dictio nec greca nec latina, sed hebraica, que sicut quedam alie dictiones hebraice in libris interpretate non sunt, quales sunt: *alleluia, osanna, racha* … Sumitur autem hec dictio *amen* tripliciter. Primo nominaliter, et sic tantum valet sicut 'verax', vel 'veritas'. Hoc modo accipitur, Apocalypsi iii, ubi dicit: *Hec dicit 'amen' testis fidelis et verus*. *Amen*, id est, veritas. Secundo accipitur verbaliter, ut est verbum hebraicum, valens tantum, id est 'fiat'; et ita capitur communiter in fine orationum, ubi exprimit desiderium orantis respectu omnium petitiorum. Tertio accipitur adverbialiter, et ita frequenter accipitur in evangelio cum dicitur: *Amen, dico vobis*, valet tantum, id est, 'vere' vel 'fideliter'." Biel, *CME* 79 (327–328). Here Biel is again drawing on Eggelinus, with, perhaps, Jordan's exposition having an unexpressed influence.

5 Cf.: "In fine dominice orationis ponitur 'Amen' quod ad omnes petitiones refertur." Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 48, 20 (519,337–338); d'Ailly, *Tract.* 1,10 (180–181).

6 Cf.: "*Amen*: hec dictio in fine habet efficaciam concludendi, recolligendi, impetrandi. Nam per Amen oratio concluditur; intentio recolligitur; exaudicio impetratur, quia in concludendo recolligitur intencio; intencione recolligitur impetracio; impetracione recolligitur exaudicio. Amen, idest fiat." *PNcES*.

7 per … negligunt Rabanus Maurus, *In Matth.* 2 (*PL* 107, col. 823A); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (109a).

8 E ponitur … dictum est *VC* 1,37 (172a–b): "Ponitur autem quandoque nominaliter, ut in Apocalypsi, ubi dicitur: *Haec dicit Amen*, id est, *Veritas*; quandoque verbaliter, ut ubicumque in Psalmista dicitur: *Fiat, fiat*, idem est quod: *Amen, amen*, et sic ponitur in fine orationum, ut hic; quandoque autem adverbialiter, ut in Evangelio ubicumque dicitur: *Amen dico vobis*, id est, vere et fideliter. Habet autem haec dictio *amen* posita in fine, triplicem efficaciam et virtutem. Nam concludit orationem, quia secundum Hieronymum, est orationis signaculum, ut sicut per sigillum clauditur scriptura, sic per *amen* clauditur oratio. Recolligit etiam intentionem, nam quando dicitur *amen*, intentio summatim fertur super omnia praecedentia, et si aliquid ex fragilitate humana per distractionem mentis in oratione absque actuali intentione pertransitum fuerit, ad id intentio redit dicendo: *Amen*. Impetrat nihilominus exauditionem, est enim *amen* exauditionis nota et signum. Unde Rabanus: Per hoc quod Dominus dixerat *amen*, signat indubitanter illis a Domino conferri omnia quae rite postulant, qui conditionis additae servare pactum non negligunt,

quae quidem conditio est dimittere debitoribus nostris, de qua dictum est: haec Rabanus." In this passage Ludolph followed Jordan word for word, seemingly unaware of Thomas's *Catena Aurea*, as can be seen with the citation of Rabanus, where Ludolph repeats verbatim Jordan's text rather than from Thomas: "Rabanus. Per hoc quod Dominus dixerat *Amen* significat indubitanter illis a Domino conferri omnia quae rite postualnt, qui conditionis additae servare poactum non negligunt; unde subditur: *Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet et vobis Pater vester caelestis delicta vestra*." Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (109a).

9 Hec … orationis Cf. Hen. *Exp*., fol. 192r: "Sciendum quod Christus significanter concludit istam orationem per 'Amen', in quo verbo optatur adimpletio omnium petitionum, quia secundum Augustinum est hebraica et significat sicut 'fiat, fiat'. Et habet triplicem efficatiam et virtutem, nam concludit orationem. Ideo secundum Hieronymum dicitur, 'signaculum orationis' eo quod ipsam claudat, item recolligit orantis intentionem, quia cum dicimus 'Amen', intentio nostra summatim fertur super omnia precedentia. Et si aliud ex humana fragilitate, ex distractione mentis absque actuali intentione tota oratione esset pertransitum ad istum implicite redit intentio 'Amen' dicendo. Tertio impetrat exauditorem. Est enim Amen impetrationis nota. Unde dicit Rabanus: per hoc quod dominus dicit 'Amen', significat indubitanter nobis a domino conferri omnia, que rite postulamus dum tamen conditionis addite pactum non negligamus scilicet 'sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.' Hec est finis."

10 Si … contineatur Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (66,8–10).

11 Quecumque … oramus Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (64,17–65,2); si … oramus cf. *VC* 1,37 (168a–b): "De sufficentia quoque istius orationis benedictae, sic dicit Augustinus: Quaecumque alia verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis format, nil aliud dicimus, quam quod in ista oratione Dominica positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus. Et si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras, nihil invenies quod in ista oratione Dominica non contineatur." Jordan 'cut and pasted' from Augustine, citing a later passage first and then continuing with an earlier passage in Augustine's text; Ludolph quotes Augustine without the 'inversion', yet quotes precisely the same passages as did Jordan. This would indicate that Ludolph knew the text of Augustine's *epist*. 130, and yet still used Jordan for selecting which text to cite; in other words, Ludolph 'cut and pasted' the same passages from Aug. *epist*. 130 as did Jordan, yet restored them to the order found in Augustine's text, indicating as well that Jordan served as Ludolph's source here, even though Ludolph evidences knowledge of Augustine's *epist*. 130 itself. Ludolph though did cite these passages in his 'introduction' to the prayer, rather than after the *Amen*, as did Jordan. Moreover, it is most likely that both Jordan and Ludolph simply followed Thomas here, where we find the exact same citations, though Jordan still cites first the later passage in Augustine and in Thomas; Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108b). The same can be said of Biel (cf. Lectio 3, note 7 above): "Unde beatus Augustinus *Ad Probam*: 'Si recte et congruenter oramus, nihil aliud petere possumus quam quod in oratione dominica positum est'. Et post pauca: 'Si omnia sanctarum precationum verba discurras, quanto estimo, non invenies quod ista oratio dominica non contineat et includat'. Et hoc declarando subdit: 'Qui enim dicit: *Clarificare in omnibus gentibus*, sicut clarificatus es in nobis, ut prophete tui fideles inveniantur,' quid aliud dicit quam *sanctificetur nomen tuum?* Qui dicit: *Ostende nobis faciem tuam et salvi erimus*; quid aliud dicit quam *adveniat regnum tuum?* Qui dicit: *Dirige gressus meos in semitis tuis secundum elo-*

quium tuum, ut non moveantur vestigia mea, quid aliud dicit quam, *fiat voluntas tua?* Qui dicit: *Divitias et paupertates ne dederis mihi*, quid aliud dicit quam, *panem nostrum quitidianum?* Qui dicit: *Memento, domine, david* et cetera. Et iterum: *Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala*, quid aliud dicit quam *dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos* et cetera? Qui dicit: *Aufer a me concupiscentia ventris*, quid aliud dicit quam *et ne nos inducas in tentationem*? Qui dicit: *Erue me de inimicis meis*, quid aliud dicit quam: *sed libera nos a malos?* Et sic si per omnia sanctarum precationum verba discurras, nihil invenies quod in ista oratione dominica non contineatur." Biel, *CME* 64 (54–55). Comparing Biel's text with Augustine's, Thomas's and Jordan's we find suggestive evidence that Biel, as did Ludolph, followed Jordan, as evident in Jordan and Biel placing the phrase: *Si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras nichil invenies, quod in ista oratione dominica non contineatur* at the beginning of their section of quotation, whereas in Augustine's text it comes at the end. Biel, however, repeats it at the end, as found in Augustine's text as well, indicating that Biel was perhaps using both Jordan and Augustine, as does perhaps the other divergences found in Biel's text from that in Augustine and Jordan. It is not known, however, precisely which manuscript, or, in Biel's case, printed edition, of Augustine Jordan or Biel was using, and thus comparison with the Migne text is only suggestive; yet given this caveat, knowing that the comparisons remain inconclusive, the above comparison strongly indicates that Biel was drawing directly from Jordan, and most likely had Jordan's text on his desk together, perhaps, with that of Augustine, presenting Augustine's text in a fashion that could not have been taken directly from Augustine himself, or from Thomas, or from Ludolph.

12 Cf. Sir. 36:4. The Vulgate reads: *sicut enim in conspectu eorum sanctificatus est in nobis sic in conspectu nostro magnificaberis in illis*. Jordan is citing from Augustine here, his letter 130 *Ad Probam*, rather than from the Vulgate itself. This applies as well to the four following biblical citations. Sir. 36:4 is the closest parallel, and no variants are given to suggest Augustine's reading. Augustine though was using the Old Latin translation. The NJB reads: *As in their sight, you have proved yourself holy to us, so now, in our sight prove yourself great to them*. For Augustine's use of the Old Latin Bible, see C.H. Milne, *A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels Used by Saint Augustine, With a Study of Their Character* (Cambridge, 2013). Originally published in 1926, this study focuses on the Gospels, though it is an extremely valuable work on the biblical text Augustine knew and used.

13 Ps. 79:8 *et* 20 (LXX). The Vulgate reads: *Ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus*. This is stated in Ps. 79:8 and then repeated in verse 20. The NJB reads: *let your face shine on us and we shall be safe* (Ps. 80:3 and 19).

14 Ps. 118:133 (LXX). The NJB reads: *Keep my steps firm in your promise* (Ps. 119:133).

15 Prov. 30:8. The Vulgate reads: *mendicitatem et divitias ne dederis mihi*. Augustine, and thus Jordan, adds *et paupertates*, while omitting *mendicitatem et*, which is not listed as a variant in the Vulgate. The NJB reads: *give me neither poverty nor riches*.

16 Ps. 131:1 (LXX). The NJB reads: *Yahweh, remember David and all the hardships he endured* (Ps. 132:1). Again the NJB follows the Hebrew text, which in the Vulgate reads: *Memento Domine David et omnis adflictionis eius*.

17 Sir. 23:6. The Vulgate reads: *aufer a me ventris concupiscentias*. The NJB reads: *do not let lechery and lust grip me* (Eccli. 23:6). Augustine, and thus Jordan, omits the *ventris*.

18 Ps. 7:5 (LXX). The NJB reads: *if I have repaid my ally with treachery* (Ps. 7:4).

19 Ps. 58:2. Here Augustine, and consequently Jordan, follows the Hebrew text. The LXX reads: *Eripe me de inimicis meis Deus*. Manuscripts C, F, and G, and S read *de*, as does the Vulgate, rather than *ab*. The NJB reads: *rescue me from evil-doers*.

20 Qui … malo Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (65,6–66,8); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108b).

21 Quisquis autem … orat Aug. *epist*. 130,12,22 (65,2–4).

22 Qui … aptare Aug. *epist*. 130,12,23 (66,17–67,5); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108b).

23 magisterio … breviavit Cypr. *domin.orat*. 28 (107,514–515); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108a); Quisquis … breuiauit *cf. VC* 1,37 (168b): "quisquis autem id dicit quod ad istam Evangelicam precem pertinere non possit, carnaliter orat, quod nescio quomodo non dicatur illicite, quando renatos Dominus non nisi spiritualiter docet orare: haec Augustinus. Cyprianus etiam de oratione Dominica dicit, quod Christus in ista oratione magisterio suo omnem precem nostram salutari sermone breviavit." Here Ludolph again follows Jordan. Whereas above Ludolph 'restored' the order of the text Jordan has 'cut and pasted' from Aug. *epist*. 130, where he continued his citation of Augustine with the section of Aug. *epist*. 130 that Jordan's had 'skipped' above, but then included here. Ludolph then continued with citing the exact same passage from Cyprian as did Jordan, which again indicates that Ludolph was using Jordan as his source. That Ludolph was using Jordan as his direct source is clear from the comparison with Thomas: "Cyprianus. De orat. domin. Quid mirum, is talis oratio est quam Deus docuit, qui magisterio suo omnem precem nostram salutari sermone breviavit?" Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108a). Thomas includes the citation from Cyprian and then, later, includes the citation from Augustine, whereas Jordan, and then Ludolph first cite Augustine and the Cyprian. It is far more likely that Ludolph was here again 'cutting and pasting' from Jordan, rather than from Thomas.

24 orationem … prevaleat Cassian. *coll.pat*. 9,25 (801A–802A).

Exposition of the Tree of the Virtues and Vices

1 While Jordan's *Expositio Arboris* here is unique, it may have had an influence on Biel's attempt to summarize his entire exposition "succinctly" to conclude: "Hec de dominice orationis expositione, etsi dispendioso collecta sint stilo, pro materie tamen amplissima dignitate brevi inculto, rudique digesta eloquio sufficiant. Qua licet non valui, volui tamen et optavi predesse auditorio. Quod si prolixitatis arguor, accipe brevissimam cuiusdam expositionem, materiam plurimam succincta verborum paucitate complexantem: *Pater noster*, excelse in creatione, suavis in amore, dives in hereditate. *Qui es in celis*, speculum eternitatis, corona iocunditatis, thesaurus felicitatis. *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, ut si nobis mel in ore, cythara in aure, iubilus in corde. *Adveniat regnum tuum*, iocundum sine perturbatione, tranquillum sine permixtione, securum sine perditione. *Fiat voluntas tuas, sicut in celo et in terra*, ut que odis, odiamus, et que diligis, diligamus, et que consulis ac precipis, impleamus. *Panem nostrum quottidianum da nobis hodie*, panem materialem, doctrinalem, penitentialem, sacramentalem, spiritualem, celestem et eternalem. *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*, que commisimus contra te deum, contra nosipsos, et contra proximum. *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, iniuriam verborum, scilicet verberum et rerum. *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, carnis, mundi et diaboli. *Sed libera nos a malo*, presenti, preterito et futuro. *Amen*, fiat, et indeficienter perseveret." Biel, *CME* 79 (333).

Here too it should be noted that Jordan throughout used three-fold interpretations of the key terms in the prayer, which then Biel does so here as well, which may reflect yet again an influence of Jordan's text on Biel.

2 Dan. 4:7–9. The Vulgate reads: *videbam et ecce arbor in medio terrae et altitudo eius nimia magna arbor et fortis et proceritas eius contingens caelum aspectus illius erat usque ad terminos universae terrae folia eius pulcherrima et fructus eius nimius et esca universorum in ea subter eam habitabant animalia et bestiae et in ramis eius conversabantur volucres caeli*. The slight variants with Jordan's text are not listed as variants in the Vulgate, though S reads *terminos* with the Vulgate, rather than Jordan's *terminum*. The NJB reads: *I saw a tree in the middle of the world; it was very tall. The tree grew taller and stronger, until its top reached the sky and it could be seen from the very ends of the earth. Its foliage was beautiful, its fruit abundant, in it was food for all. For the wild animals it provided shade, the birds of heaven nested in its branches, all living creatures found their food on it*.

3 1Cor. 14:15. The NJB reads: *I shall sing praises with the spirit, and I shall sing praises with the mind as well*.

4 cum … disceret Cypr. *domin.orat*. 28 (519–524); Thom.Aq. *CA* ad Matth. 6:13 (108b).

5 Dan. 4:9.

6 Gal. 5:22.

7 Dan. 4:9.

8 dominus … stupesceret Cf. *Glos.ord*. ad Matth. 6:8 (IV,24B; ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 24F).

9 "Si quomodo simplicitas fidei, velociter addisceret, salutis suae sufficientiam, et prudentia ingeniosorum amplius profunditatem mysterii obstupesceret. Hinc Isaias vaticinatur dicens: *Sermonem abbreviatum faciet Dominus super terram*. Quem profecto sermonem ita abbreviavit, ut memoriter eum subito capere possint; ita rebus implevit, ut inpraesentiarum nemo sine Spiritus sancti gratia, et cum ea rarus admodum qui omnia aut intelligere aut percipere possit. Unde precibus elaborandum ut dona percipiamus ex gratia; donis vero agendum, ut pervenire possimus ad meritum gratiae, deinde pro meritis beatitudinem speremus quaerentibus concessam. Alioquin nec sine fidei precibus ad domum, nec sine meritis pervenitur ad beatitudinis gradum: quod sequens conclusio satis declarat." Paschus Radbertus, *Expositio in Evangelium Matthei* 4 (*PL* 120, col. 300D–301A).

10 Dan. 4:9.

11 After extensive search, and multiple requests of experts, I have not been able to identify the numerous verses Jordan included here, with one possible exception (see below). I would like to thank in particular C.H. Kneepkens, Walter Simon, and Manfred Schulze for their help in this regard. It is possible that these verses are Jordan's original composition. He did compose verses for the life of St. Augustine in his *Metrum pro depingenda vitam sancti Augustini*; see Saak, *Creating Augustine*, 148–154. In the verse for the third beast below, however, manuscript C omits the second part of the verse simply stating etc., which would seem to indicate that perhaps the verse was sufficiently known that the readers would be able to supply the 'etc.' themselves, indicating thus that Jordan was not the author. It could though also simply be the result of the scribe, and the scribe of C was not always as careful as one might wish. Unless the origin of these verses can be found, it is, I think, appropriate to assume Jordan himself authored them for his *Expositio Arboris* as he did the verses he included in his *Metrum pro depingenda vitam Sancti Augustini*. Verse

was known to be used as a mnemonic device; see Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild. Kultur und Gedächthnis im Mittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Munich, 1995), 89–94.

12 More canis … odit Cf. Hier. *epist*. 50,1 (*ThesLL* III, col. 252,57 *sqq*).

13 Ursus … indifferenter Arist. *De historia animalium* 8,17 (ed. Bekker, IV.286–287).

14 Dan. 4:9.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Eggelinus Becker of Braunschweig, *Canonis Misse Expositio*, Frankfurt am Main, UB, Ms. Barth. 93.

Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*. Basel, UB, Ms. A.X. 124, fol. 182r–192r.

Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Collectanea Sancti Augustini*. Paris, Bibliotheque d'la Arsenal, Ms 251.

———. *Expositio Orationis Dominice* (see Introduction)

———, *Opus Postillarum*. Mainz, StB Ms. I 53.

Printed Works

Incunabula

Alfonus Vargas, OESA, *In Primum Sententiarum*, ed. Thomas de Spilimbergo, OESA. Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 1490; reprint: Cassiciacum II, 1952; GW M49431.

Ambrosius de Cora, *Defensorium Ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini*. Rome: Georg Herolt, 1481; GW M21530.

Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the *Editio Princeps*, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481. 4 vols. Turnhout, 1992; GW 04282

Guillelmus Parisiensis (?), *Libellus sacramentalis*. Leuven: Egidium vander Heerstraten, 1487; GW M32020.

Hermannus de Petra, *Sermones quinquaginta super orationem dominicam*. Leuven: Johannes de Westfalia, 1484; GW 12293.

Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Opus Postillarum*. Strassburg: Georg Husner, 1483; GW M15120.

Pater noster cum expositione summaria. Basel: Lienhart Ysenhut, c. 1500. Munich BSB, Einbl. VII,18b (unique copy), BSB-Ink P-39; GW M29761.

Pierre D'Ailly, *Questiones super Primum, Tertium et Quartum Librum Sententiarum*. Brussels: Brothers of the Common Life, 1481; GW M32002.

Early Modern Editions (*1501–1800*)

Augustinus de Ancona, *In orationem dominicam*. Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1587. [USTC 861233]

Augustinus Leonissa, *Sermones pulcherimi super dominicam orationem Pater noster et angelicam salutationem Ave Maria unicuique ad populum volenti declamationes facere accommodati*. Cologne: Cornelius von Zierickzee, 1505. [USTC 693673]

Biblia Sacra cum Glossa interlinearia, ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani Postilla ac Moralitatibus, Burgensis Additionibus, et Thoringi replicis. 4 vols., Venice: Matthias Döring, 1588. [USTC 806307]

Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, ad Parochos. Henricus Aquensis: Cologne, 1567; VD 16 K 2053; Munich BSB copy available online at http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+K+2053

Elssius, P., *Encomiasticon Augustinianum*. Bruxellis, 1654; reprint: Westmead, Farnborough, Hanks, England, 1970.

Gregory of Rimini, OESA, *Gregorii Ariminensis Lectura in primam et secundum Sententiarum*. Venice, 1522; reprint New York, 1955.

Ossinger, Johann Felix, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*. Ingolstadt, 1768; reprint: Torino, 1963.

Pierre d'Ailly, *Tractatus de Oratione Dominica*. In Petri de Alliaco *Opuscula Spiritualia*. Douai, 1634 (available online at http://books.google.com/books?id=YOs).

Modern Editions (*1800-present*)

Ambrosius, *De Noe et Arca*. *PL* 14, cols. 361–416.

Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De sacramentis*. *PL* 16, col. 417–462.

———, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Libri duo Cur Deus Homo*. Ed. Hugo Laemmer. Berlin, 1857; available online at: https://archive.org/stream/sanselmicantuaro4laemgoog#page/n4/mode/2up

Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*. Ed. Immanuel Bekker. Oxford, 1845; available online at: http://books.google.com/books?id=enAxSIQyZsoC&oe=UTF-8.

———, *Aristotelis Opera*. Ed. Immanuel Bekker. 11. vols. Oxford, 1837 ff.

Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*. Ed. Bernardus Dombart et Alphonsus Kalb. 2 vols: 1. libri I–X, *CCSL* 47; 2 XI–XXII, *CCSL* 48. Turnhout, 1955.

———, *Confessiones*. Ed. Lucas Verheijen. *CCSL* 27. Turnhout, 1981.

———. *Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum*. *PL* 42,743–814.

———, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Ed. E. Eligius Dekkers et Johannes Fraipont. 3 vols.: 1. I–L, *CCSL* 38; 2. LI–C, *CCSL* 39; 3. CI–CL, *CCSL* 40. Turnhout, 1956.

———. *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*. Ed. E. Evans. *CCSL* 46.21–114. Turnhout, 1969.

———, *Epistolae*. Ed. Al. Goldbacher. *CSEL* 44. Lipsiae, 1904.

———, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*. Ed. Almut Mutzenbecher. *CCSL* 35. Turnhout, 1967.

———, *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium*. Ed. Augustino Mayer. *CCSL* 36. Turnhout, 1954.

———, *De Libero Arbitrio*. Ed. W.M. Green. *CCSL* 29.205–321.

Ps.Augustinus, *De cognitione verae vitae*. *PL* 40,1005–1032.

———, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. *PL* 40,1233–1358.

Beda Venerabilis, *In Proverbia Salomonis*. *PL* 91, cols. 1051–1066.

Beleth, Johannes, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*. Ed. H. Douteil. *CCCM* 41A. Turnhout, 1976.

Bernardus Clarevallensis, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*. *PL* 183, cols. 785–1198.

———, *Opera*. Ed. Jean Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, N.M. Rochais. 8 vols. Editiones Cistercienses. Rome, 1957–1977.

——— (?), *In antiphonam salve regina*. *PL* 184, cols. 1059–1078.

———, *Sermones de Tempore, In Adventu*. *PL* 184, cols. 35–56.

———, *Sermones de Tempore, In Quadragesima*. PL 184, cols. 173–186.

———, *Sermones de Tempore, In Ascensione Domini*. *PL* 183, cols. 299–324.

Ps.Bernardus, *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini*. *PL* 184, cols. 635–740.

Biel, Gabriel, *Canonis Misse Expositio*. Ed. Heiko A. Oberman and William Courtenay, with the Cooperation of Daniel E. Zerfoss, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1966.

Bonaventura, *Quaestiones disputatae de scientia Christi*. S.Bonaventurae *Opera Omnia* 5. Quaracchi, 1891.

Bray, Nadia, *Giordano di Quedlinburg Opus Ior. Registrum Sermonum, Tabula Contentorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabeti*. Pisa, 2004.

———, ed., *Jordan von Quedlinburg Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de Evangeliis dominicalibus, De nativitate Domini, Opus Ior Sermones selecti de filiatione divina*. Hamburg, 2008.

Bruni, Leonardo, *History of the Florentine People*, vol. 1, edited and translated by James Hankins. The I Tatti Renaissance Library. Cambridge, MA, 2001.

Ps.Caecilius Balbus, *De nugis philosophorum*. Ed. Eduard Woelfflin. Basle, 1855; available online at: http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/caecilius_balbus/nugis.html.

Cassianus, *Collationes Patrum*. *PL* 49,477–1328.

Cassiodorus, *Historia Ecclesiastica, vocata Tripartita*. *PL* 69, cols. 879–1214.

Cendoya, Ignacio Arámburu, ed. *Constitutiones Ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini. Las primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos*. Valladolid, 1966.

Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula Canonicorum*. *PL* 89, cols. 1057–1096

Chrysostomus, *Homeliae in Mattheum*, 2 vols.: 1. hom. 1–45, *PG* 57; 2. hom. 46–92, *PG* 58.

Ps.Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*. *PG* 56,411–428.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De Inventione*. Ed. Eduard Stroebel. Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart, 1965.

Cyprianus, *De Dominica Oratione*. Ed. C. Moreschini. *CCSL* 3A.87–113. Turnhout, 1976.

Damascenus, Iohannes, *De Fide Orthodoxa*. *PG* 94.781–1228.

Ps.Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus*. *PG* 3,585–996.

Durandus, *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. 4 vols. Ed. A. Davril, O.S.B. and T.M. Thibodeau, *CCCM* 140. Turnhout, 1995.

Dyson, R.W., *Gile's of Rome's* On Ecclesiastical Power. *A Medieval Theory of World Government*. New York, 2004.

Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium. Ed. Guilelmus Schum, *MGH.SS* XIV. Hannover, 1883; reprint: New York, 1963, 434–435.

Gregorian Missal. Tournai/Solesmes, 1990; available online in pdf at: http://musicasacra.com/resource-lists/.

Gregorius Magnus, *Liber Homiliarum in Evangelia*. *PL* 76,1075–1314.

———, *Liber Sacramentorum*. *PL* 78,9–637.

———, *Moralia in Iob*. Ed. Marcus Adriaen. 3 vols. 1. lib. I–X, *CCSL* 143; 2. lib XI–XXII, *CCSL* 143; 3. lib. XXIII–XXXV, *CCSL* 143 B. Turnhout, 1979–1985.

———, *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*. *PL* 77,9–130.

Ps.Gregorius Magnus, *Expositio Novi Testamenti, auctore Alufo*. *PL* 79,1137–1424.

Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Mattheum*. Ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen. *CCSL* 77. Turnhout, 1969.

———, *Divina Bibliotheca, Liber Genesis*. *PL* 28, col. 163–231.

Holzapfel, Egidius, ed., *Werner Rolevincks Bauernspiegel. Untersuchung und Neuherausgabe von 'De Regimine Rusticorum'*. Freiburger Theologische Studien 76. Basel/Freiburg im Breisgau, 1959.

Hugo de S. Victore, *De Arrha Animae*. PL 176,951–970.

———, *De Arca Noe Morali*. *PL* 176,619–704.

Innocentius III, *Epistolae*. *PL* 214.

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiarum libri tres*. *PL* 83, cols. 537–738.

———, *Differentiarum*. *PL* 83,9–98.

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*. Ed. Th. Graesse. 3rd ed. 1890; reprint Osnabrück, 1969.

Johannes von Paltz, *Coelifodina*. Ed. Christoph Burger and Friedhelm Stasch, with Berndt Hamm and Venicio Marcolino. *SuR* 2. Berlin, 1983.

Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Liber Vitasfratrum*. Ed. Winfridus Hümpfner and Rudolph Arbesmann. Cassiciacum 1. New York, 1943.

Lombardus, Petrus, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*. Ed. Ignatium Brady, OFM. Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5. 2 vols. Gottaferrata, 1971; 1981.

Ludolphus Carthusiensis, *Vita Jesu Christi ex Evangelio et approbatis ab Ecclesia Catholica Doctoribus sedule collecta*. Ed. A.-C. Bolard, L.-M. Rigollot et J. Carnandet. Paris and Rome, 1865.

Luther, Martin, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 61 vols. Weimar, 1883–1999.

———, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*. 6 vols., Weimar, 1912–1921.

———, *Erfurter Annotationen, 1509–1510/11*. Ed. Jun Matsura. Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luthers. Texte und Untersuchungen 9. Cologne, 2009.

Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologia cursus completus: series Graeca*. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–1866.

———, *Patrologia cursus completus: series Latina*. 217 vols. Paris, 1841–1864.

Paschus Radbertus, *Expositio in Evangelium Matthei*. *PL* 120, cols. 31–994.

Peter Comester, *Historia Scholastica*. *PL* 198.

Pierre D'Ailly, *Petri de Alliaco Questiones super Primum, Tertium et Quartum Librum Sententiarum*, vol. 1: *Principia et Questio circa Prologum*. Ed. Moncia Brinzei. *CCCM* 258. Turnhout, 2013.

Priscianus, *Institutiones*. Vols. 2–3 of Grammatici Latini, ed. Heinrich Keil. Leipzig, 1855–1880; reprint: Hildesheim, 1961.

Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaeum*. *PL* 107, cols. 727–1156.

Sacramentarium Gelasianum. *PL* 74, col. 1049–1244.

Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. 2 vols. Ed. L.D. Reynolds. Oxford, 1965.

Thayer, Anne T., trans., with an Introduction by Katharine J. Lualdi, *Handbook for Curates. A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*. Washington D.C., 2011.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Lipsiae, 1900-present.

Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea in Quatuor Evangelia*, I. *Expoisito in Mattheum et Marcum*; II. *Expositio in Lucam et Ioannem*. Ed. Angelici Guarienti, O.P. Taurini et Romae. Marietti, 1953.

———, *Summa Theologiae, cura et studio Instituti Studiorum Mediaevalium Ottaviensis*. Ottawa, 1941–1945.

———, *Super Evangelium S. Matthaei Lectura*. Ed. P. Raphaelis Cai, O.P., Taurini et Romae. Marietti, 1951.

———, *Quaestiones disputate de veritate* (available online in the Leonine edition at: http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdv11.html).

Urkundenbuch des Klosters Unser Lieben Frauen zu Magdeburg. Ed. Gustav Hertel. Halle, 1878.

Van Deyck, C., ed., *Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi*. Brussels, 1963.

Online Resources

Catechism of the Roman Cathlic Church; available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM

Gregorian Missal. Tournai/Solesmes, 1990; available online in pdf at: http://musicasacra.com/resource-lists/.

GW Datenbank Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de

Manipulus Florum; available online at: http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/index.html?3e3ea140

Missale Romanum, canon missae; available online at: http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/lmass/ord.htm.

PL Patrologia Latina Database http://pld.chadwyck.com.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu/
USTC Universal Short Title Catalogue http://www.ustc.ac.uk/
VD16 Datenbank Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts www.vd16.de

Scholarly Literature

Achten, Gerard, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*. 3 vols.; vol. 1: Ms. theol. lat. qu. 141–266. Wiesbaden, 1979.

Adam, Bernd, *Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen. Texte und Untersuchungen zu deutschsprachigen Auslegungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. *MTU* 55. München, 1976.

Angenendt, Arnold, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt, 1997.

———, *Grundformen der Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*. München, 2003.

Arbesmann, Rudolph, "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini: The Source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine," *Traditio* 1 (1943): 341–353.

———, *Der Augustiner-Eremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*. Würzburg, 1965.

Baier, Walter, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolf von Sachsen. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie*. 3 vols. Analecta Cartusiana 44. Insitut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg. Salzburg, 1977.

Bast, Robert J., *Honor Your Fathers. Catechisms and the Emergence of A Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600*. *SMRT* 63. Leiden, 1997.

Bloomfield, Morton W., Bertrand-Georges Guyot, O.P., Donald R. Howard, and Thyra B. Kabealo, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D. Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster*. The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 88. Cambridge, MA, 1979.

Boetius, Henning, "Preliminary Reflections on a Generative Theory of Editing." In Hans Walter Gabler, George Bornstein, and Gillian Borland Pierce, eds., *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1995, 153–170.

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA, 1991.

Bradley, Robert I., *The Roman Catechism in the Catechetical Tradition of the Church. The Structure of the Roman Catechism as Illustrative of the "Classic Catechesis"*. New York, 1990.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley, 1982.

———, *Christian Materiality. An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. New York, 2011.

Carmignac, Jean, *Recherches sur le 'Notre Pere'*. Paris, 1969.

Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis: IV/1: *Codices Latinos Continens*, II/1. Monachii, 1874.

Cerquiglini, Bernard, *Éloge de la variante*. Paris, 1989.

Chadwick, Henry, *The Church in Ancient Society. From Galilee to Gregory the Great*. Oxford History of the Christian Church. Oxford, 2001.

Clayton, Jay and Eric Rothstein, eds., *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*. Madison, Wis., 1991.

Cruel, Rudolf, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*. Detmold, 1879.

Dagenais, John, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture. Glossing the* Libro de buen amor. Princeton, 1994.

De Vooys, C.G.N., *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de prozalitteratuur en het volksgeloof der middeleeuwen*. Groningen-Den Haag, 1926[2].

Dibelius, Otto, *Das Vaterunser. Umrisse zu einer Geschichte des Gebets in der alten und mittleren Kirche*. Giessen, 1903.

D'Ydewalle, Stanislas, *De kartuize Sint-Anna-Woestijne, 1350–1792*. Brussel, s.a. (c. 1944).

Eisermann, Falk, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (VE15), 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 2004.

Flensburg, Johannes, *Die mittelniederdeutschen Predigten des Jordanes von Quedlinburg in Auswahl*. Lund, 1911.

Gadamer, Hans Georg, *Truth and Method*. 2nd revised edition. Trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall. New York, 1993.

Göbl, Peter, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfalle des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*. Kempten, 1880.

Gracia, J.J.E., *Texts. Ontological Status, Identity, Author, Audience*. New York, 1996.

Greetham, D.C., "Editorial and Critical Theory: From Modernism to Postmodernism." In George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams eds., *Palimpsest. Editorial Theory in the Humanities*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1993,9–28.

———, *Textual Scholarship. An Introduction*. New York, 1994.

Grenzmann, Ludger, Hubert Herkommer and Dieter Wuttke, eds., *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Göttingen, 1987.

Grundmann, Herbert, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*. Berlin, 1935; reprint Hildesheim/New York, 1977.

Guarieneri, Romana, "Il movimento del Libero Spirito." In *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà* IV (1965): 351–708.

Gurevich, Aron, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception*. Trans. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 14. Cambridge, 1988.

Gutierrez, David, O.S.A., "De Antiquis Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini Bibliothecis." *AAug*. 23 (1954): 164–372.

———, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1357–1517*. Villanova, Pennsylvania, 1983.

Hackett, Jeremiah, "The Use of a text quotation from Meister Eckhart by Jordan of Quedlinburg OSA," *Proceedings of the Patristic-Medieval and Renaissance Conference* 2. Villanova, 1977, 97–102.

———, "Verbum mentalis conceptio in Meister Eckhart and Jordanus of Quedlinburg. A Text Study." In *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie der Société internationale pour l'Êtude de la Philosophie Médiévale, 29 August–3 September 1977, 2 vol. Berlin-New York, 1979, 2:1003–1011.

Hain, Ludwig, *Repertorium Bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi, ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1826–1838.

Hamm, Berndt, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis*. *BhTh* 65. Tübingen, 1982.

———, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999): 307–354.

Hammerling, Roy, ed., *A History of Prayer. The First to the Fifteenth Century*. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 13. Leiden, 2008.

———, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church. The Pearl of Great Price*. New York, 2010.

Heinimann, Siegfried, ed., *Oratio Dominica Romanice. Das Vaterunser in den romanischen Sprachen von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 219. Tübingen, 1988.

Hobbins, Daniel, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print. Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*. Philadelphia, 2009.

Hunt, D., "Reading it Right." In *The New Medievalism*, ed. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen G. Nichols. Baltimore, 1991.

Irvine, Martin, *The Making of Textual Culture. Grammatica and Literary Theory, 350–1100*. Princeton, 1994.

Jacobs, J., *Her Herman Stekin van Scutdorpe*. Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1927.

Jaye, Barbara H., *The Pilgrimage of Prayer: The Texts and Iconography of the 'Exercitium Super Pater Noster'*. Salzburg, 1990.

Kneepkens, C.H., "Grammar and Religious Education Intertwined: Willem Zenders of Weert's *Opus minus*." In Kees Schepers and Frans Hendrickx, eds., with Rob Faesen and Ineke Cornet, *De Letter Levend Maken. Opstellen aangeboden aan Guido de Baere bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag*. Miscellanea Neerlandica 39. Leuven, 2010, 401–434.

Koch, Joseph, "Meister Eckharts Weiterwirken im Deutsch-Niederländischen Raum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert." In Joseph Koch, *Kleine Schriften* 2 vol., Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi 127. Rome, 1973, 1:429–455; 443–446 (originally published in *La mystique rhénane*, Colloque de Strasbourg 16–19 Mai 1961, Travaux du centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg. Strassburg, 1963, 133–156).

Kunzelmann, Adalbero, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, v. 1: *Das dreizehnte Jahrhundert*. Würzburg, 1969; v. 5: *Die Sächsisch-Thüringische Provinz und die Sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der Beiden*. Würzburg, 1974.

Kürzinger, Josef, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und seine theologische Einleitungslehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Scholastik im 14. Jahrhundert. BGPhMA* 22. Münster 1930.

Lerner, Robert E., *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*. Berkeley, 1972.

Lievens, Robrecht, *Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden. Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften*. Gent, 1958.

Linsenmayer, Anton, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Munich, 1886.

List, Gerhard and Gerhardt Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, vol. 1. Mainz, 1990.

Manselli, Raoul, *La Religion Populaire au Moyen Age. Problemes de method et d'histoire*. Paris, 1975.

Martin, Hervé, *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350–1500*. Paris, 1988.

Mathes, Fulgence, "The Poverty Movement and the Augustinian Hermits." *AAug*. 31 (1968):5-154; *AAug*. 32 (1969): 5–116.

McGann, Jerome J., *The Textual Condition*. Princeton, 1991.

Mertens, Volker, and Hans-Jochen Schiewer, eds., *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*. Internationales Symposium am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin von 3.-6. Oktober 1989. Tübingen, 1992.

Milne, C.H., *A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels Used by Saint Augustine, With a Study of Their Character*. 1926. Cambridge, 2013.

Minnis, Alastair, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia, PA, 1988.

Mitchell, W.J.T., "Representation." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago, 1990, 11–22.

Moeller, Bernd, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500." *ARG* 56 (1965): 3–31.

Moll, Willem, *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw*. Amsterdam, 1854.

Newhauser, Richard and István Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al. Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D*. Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 50. Turnhout, 2008.

Ouy, Gilbert, "Problèmes d'édition des manuscrits autographes médiévaux." In Jacqueline Hammesse, ed., *Les Problèmes posés par l'edition critique des textes anciens et médévaux*. Publications d l'institut d'études médiévales, Textes, études, congrès 13. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992, 399–420.

Overgaauw, Eef, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe B in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, vol. 1 *Ms. B1 bis B 100*. Wiesbaden, 2005.

Pansters, Krijn, *Franciscan Virtue. Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction of the Thirteenth Century*. *SHCT* 161. Leiden, 2012.

Patze, Hans and Walter Schlesinger, eds., *Geschichte Thüringens*, vol. II/2: *Hohes und Spätes Mittelalter*. Köln/Wien, 1973.

Plett, Heinrich, ed., *Intertextuality*. Research in Text Theory 15. Berlin, 1991.

Pollmann, Karla, et al., ed., *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*. 3 vols., Oxford, 2013.

Rapp, Francis, *L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en occident à la fin du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1971.

Rennhofer, F., "Jordan v. Quedlinburg (J.v. Sachsen)," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* V (1960): 1120.

Rieger, Max and Wilhelm Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete aus Handschriften*. Basel, 1876; repr. Darmstadt 1964 (available online at the Internet Archiv, www.archive.org).

Rivard, Derek A., *Blessing the World. Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion*. Washington, D.C., 2009.

Robinson, Paul, "Sermons on the Lord's Prayer and the Rogation Days in the Later Middle Ages." In, Hammerling, ed. *A History of Prayer*, 441–462.

Robinson, Peter, "Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis." In *Studies in Stemmatology*, ed. Pieter van Reenen and Margot van Mulkan. Amsteram, 1996.

Rubin, Miri, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. Princeton, 2009.

Rudolf, Rainer, *Thomas Peuntners Betrachtungen über das Vater unser und das Ave Maria, nach österreichischen Handschriften hrsg. und untersucht*. Wien, 1953.

Ruh, Kurt, ed., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung. Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe zur Methode und Auswertung*. Texte und Textgeschichte 19. Tübingen, 1985.

Saak, E.L., *"Religio Augustini*: Jordan of Quedlinburg and the Augustinian Tradition in Late Medieval Germany," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1993.

———, "Jordani de Quedlinburg Opera Omnia," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 36 (1995): 43–49.

———, "*Quilibet Christianus*: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA." In *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Kienzle et al. Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Texts et Études du Moyen Âge 5. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996, 317–338.

———, "The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages." In *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols., 1: 367–404. Leiden, 1997.

———, *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform Between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524*. *SMRT* 89. Leiden, 2002.

———, *Creating Augustine. Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford, 2012.

———, "Alfonsus Vargas." *OGHRA* 2:508–509.

———, "Augustinianism." *OGHRA* 2: 596–599.

———, "Jordan of Quedlinburg." *OGHRA* 3: 1234–1236.

———, "Luther, Martin." *OGHRA* 3: 1341–1346.

———, "De tekstualiteit van laatmiddeleeuwse pastorale literatuur. Een *case study* van Jordanus van Quedlinburg, o.e.s.a., en Gabriel Biel." Forthcoming in the Festschrift for Martijn Schrama, OSA, ed. ed. Brian Heffernan and Jos van Neer.

Schneyer, J.-B., *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*. 11 vols. *BGPhMA* 43/1. Münster, 1969–1990.

Schnurr, Klaus, *Hören und Handeln. Lateinische Auslegungen des Vaterunsers in der Alten Kirche bis zum 5. Jahrhundert*. Freiburger Theologische Studien 132. Freiburg, 1985.

Schwab, Francis Mary, *David of Augsburg's 'Pater Noster' and the Authenticity of His German Works*. *MTU* 32. Munich, 1971.

Scott-Ram, N.R., *Transformed Cladistics, Taxonomy and Evolution*. Cambridge, 1990.

Siggins, Ian, *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching. The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt, OP* (*Discipulus*). Bloomington, IN, 2009.

Skemer, Don C., *Binding Words. Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia, 2006.

Slenczka, Ruth, *Lehrhafte Bildtafeln in Spätmittelalterlichen Kirchen*. Cologne, 1998.

Stegmüller, Friedrich, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. Madrid, 1949–1980.

Stock, Brian, *Listening for the Text. On the Uses of the Past*. Baltimore, 1990.

Trapè, Agostino, "Scuola Teologica e Spiritualia nell'ordine Agostiniano." In *Sanctus Augustinus Vitae Spiritualis Magister*. 2 Vols. Rome, 1959, 2:5–75.

Trapp, A. Damasus, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Booklore." *Aug*(*L*) 6 (1956): 146–274.

Van Engen, John, "Christianity in the Middle Ages." *AHR* 91 (1986): 19–552.

Van den Gheyn, Joseph, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, III. Brussel, 1903.

Vauchez, André, *Religion et Societé dans l'Occident Médiéval*. Torino, 1980.

Wattel, Evert, "Clustering in Stemmatological Trees." In Pieter Th. van Reenen and Margot van Mulken, *Studies in Stemmatology*. Amsterdam, 1996, 123–134.

Weidenhiller, P. Egino, *Untersuchung zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters, Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*. *MTU* 10. München, 1965.

Weismann, Christoph, *Die Katechismen des Johannes Brenz*, vol. 1: *Die Entstehungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, *SuR* 21. Berlin, 1990.

Willeumier-Schalij, J.M., "De LXV Artkelen van de Passie van Jordanus van Quedlinburg in middelnederlandse handschriften." *OGE* 53 (1979):15–35.

Willis, James, *Latin Textual Criticism*. Urbana-Champaign, IL., 1972.

Zeller, Hans, "Structure and Genesis in Editing: On German and Anglo-American Textual Criticism." In Hans Walter Gabler, George Bornstein, and Gillian Borland Pierce, eds., *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1995,95–123.

Zumkeller, Adolar, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken*. Cassiciacum 20. Würzburg, 1966.

———, "Jordan von Quedlinburg (Jordanus de Saxonia)." In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 853–861.

———, "Jourdain de Saxe ou de Quedlinburg, ermite de Saint-Augustin, vers 1300–1380 (1370?)." In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974), 1423–1430.

——— "Jordan(us) von Quedlinburg (von Sachsen). Augustiner-Eremit, geistlicher und homiletischer Schriftsteller, c. 1300–1380." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (Berlin 1974), 597–598.

———, "Die Lehrer des Geistlichen Lebens unter den deutschen Augustinern vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Konzil von Trent." In *Sanctus Augustinus, vitae spiritualimagister*, 2 vols. Rome, 1959, 2:246–248.

———, "Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke bei den deutschen Predigern des Spätmittelalters." *ZKTh* 81 (1959): 265–305.

Zumthor, Paul, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Collection Poétique. Paris, 1972.

Index of Manuscripts

[*Note: The following index includes reference to manuscripts used or cited with the exception of the list of extant manuscripts of Jordan's* Expositio *on pages 58–60 above and the designation by sigla in the Notes to the Text* (*apparatus criticus*). *It does though include the list of sigla* (*p. 73*), *and references to these manuscripts cited in the Notes to the Work* (*commentary*).]

Avignon
Bibliothèque Municipale 342 47

Basel
UB A.IV.3 (F) 47, 61–63, 65, 66, 331, 334, 339, 346, 363, 371
UB A.IV.4 30
UB A.X. 124 311, 321, 323, 327, 330, 332, 335–337, 339, 340, 343, 346, 348, 349, 351–353, 355, 357–360, 362–365, 369, 375
Berlin
SBB theol. fol. 131 65
SBB theol. fol. 132 65, 66
SBB theol. lat. qu. 175 30, 52, 60, 64, 66, 67, 329

Cava
Archivio della Badia 1 (14) 320, 328, 331, 335, 366, 367

Erfurt
Universitätsbibliothek Cod. Ampl. F. 75 11

Florence
Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenz Amiatino 1 331, 349
Frankfurt am Main
Stadts- und Universitätsbibliothek Barth. 93 41–44, 313, 335, 344, 347, 355, 356, 358, 361, 365, 368, 375
Fulda
Landesbibliothek Bonifacius 1 354, 363

Kolmar
Konsist. Bibl. 21 (1951) 6

Mainz
StB I 29 60, 64, 66, 327, 329, 363, 371, 372
StB I 53 37, 63–66, 319, 320, 328, 329, 332, 336, 363, 371, 375
StB I 53b 61, 66, 327, 329, 331
StB I 54 61, 64, 66, 329, 331, 336
Metz
Bibl. mun. 7 366
Milan
Bibl. Ambrosiana G 82 sup. 344
Munich
BSB Clm. 6102 7
BSB Clm 8151 30, 60, 64, 66, 329, 332, 339
Munster
Diocesan Seminary Bibl. I 80 10

Órleans
Bibl. mun. 17 (14) 349, 367

Paris
Bibliotheque d'la Arsenal 251 363, 375
BnF lat. 115533 331, 354

St. Gall
Stiftsbibliothek 40 338, 367

Vatican City
Bibl. Apost. Pal. lat. 24 328, 335

Würzburg
UB Cod. M. ch. q. 23 30

Index of Biblical Citations

[*Note: The following index includes two sections. The first is an index of Jordan's explicit biblical citations. Jordan usually cited the Bible with book and chapter reference; he never cited specific verses, or specific psalms. Jordan often cited from memory, at times mixing two biblical passages, or giving a wrong reference. The specific references are detailed in the Notes to the Work. In order to give a working index of Jordan's use of the Bible therefore I have included here in the first section the index to Jordan' explicit biblical references* (*excepting, however, the text of the* Pater Noster *itself from Mt. 6:9–13 comprising Jordan's lemmata*). *Here the abbreviations of the Vulgate are used for the biblical books and the page numbers given are to the Latin text. Jordan often cited Paul simply as 'the Apostle', and at times the prophets and Psalms as 'the prophet' or the Gospels simply 'as the Lord said'. Thus, after the list of biblical books Jordan cites there follows 'Apostolus', 'Dominus', and 'Propheta', followed then by 'Undesignated', referring to Jordan's biblical citations for which he does not give any reference, with the specific reference given in parentheses. Likewise found in the 'Undesignated' section are citations of Jordan's where he simply names the biblical book, without giving chapter reference. The explicit reference to all Jordan's biblical citations are found in the Notes to the Work, as well as detailed explanations for Jordan's erroneous citations and further commentary. The second section here below then is an index to biblical references found in the Introduction and in the Notes on the Work. Here I have used the generally accepted English translation of the biblical books, written out in full. I have not, however, indexed the NJB with respect to variantions in verse numbering or variantion in the numbering of the Psalms, which follows that of the Vulgate and Jordan. By including both sections here described I hope to have provided a useful tool both for finding biblical references in the text and notes* (*commentary*), *and for further research on Jordan's use of the Bible.*]

I Jordan's Citations

Gn.
26 126

Ex.
15 94
16 146
33 86

Lv.
16 150

Dt
33 78, 94

III Reg.
19 144

Iob
23 94
41 106, 114

Ps. 90, 92, 94, 96, 102, 104, 110, 114, 118, 128, 134, 138, 142, 146, 158, 162, 178

Prov.
4 128
14 178
15 178
24 108
29 156

Ct.
2 92, 108
4 94
5 94

Sap.
16 108

Sir. (Ecclesiasticus)
1 178
10 116

15 136, 142
19 178
21 128
24 108, 144
29 132

Is.
9 102
25 180
30 144
53 158
66 92, 180
73 78

Jer.
3 106
13 106
50 128

Ez.
18 122

Dan.
4 190

Os
11 128
13 142

Mi.
6 122

So.
2 106

(II) Macc.
15 144

Mt.
1 104
2 104
4 136
5 108, 110, 120, 128
6 74, 154
7 134, 142, 144, 168
13 112
15 118
23 82, 104
25 112

Luc.
1 102, 146
11 74, 82
14 138
16 142
17 112

Jn.
1 106
5 88
6 122, 136, 138
8 80
13 106
14 94, 126, 128
20 82

Act.
17 80

Rom.
3 106
5 114
6 114
7 122, 124
8 80, 116, 150
13 150

I Cor.
14 190

II Cor.
3 138
5 92
6 142

Gal.
4 76, 80, 158
5 156, 192

Eph.
2 92
5 114
6 166

Phil.
3 92

Col.
3 110

1 Th.
4 122

1 Tm
4 168

Hebr.
3 136
11 106–108

Iac.
1 78, 128, 156, 162, 164

1 Ptr.
2 170

11 Ptr.
2 116

Apoc.
1 104
2 112
3 186
7 104
16 114
ultimo (22) 154

Apostolus 118

Dominus 118

Propheta 118, 146, 156, 160

Undesignated
(Gn. 2:9) 176
(Gn. 22:1) 164
(Ex:10:1) 164
(11 Esr. 8:10) 134
(Ps. 25:2) 164
(Dn. 4:9) 192, 200
(Mt 6:12–13) 172
(Mt 6:14) 156
(Mt 10:16) 168
Jn 112

11 Introduction and Notes on the Work

Genesis
2:9 366
21:33–34 341
22:1 359
26:1 341
26:14–15 341

Exodus
3:13–14 317
10:1 359
10:20 359
10:27 359
11:10 359
15:17 320
16:1–36 351
33:18–19 320
33:19 351

Leviticus
11:44 327
16:31 352

Deuteronomy
32:6 315
32:35 356

1 Kings (3 Kings in Vulgate)
19:8 350

Nehemiah (2 Esdras)
8:10 345

2 Maccabees
15:11 350

Job
23:3 320
41:25 328, 335
41:26 328

Psalms
7:5 370
15:10 351

16:9 318
16:11 40, 318
16:15 320, 348, 351
18:2 39, 318
18:13 356
24:5 336
24:14 366
25:2 357, 359
30:17 336
31:8 336
34:14 357
35:6–7 343
35:10 319, 343
47:9 320
47:11 327
54:19 331
58:2 371
67:9 320
75:2 326
77:72 336, 337
78:5 334
78:6 334
79:8 370
79:20 370
103:2 319
103:15 350
106:9 351
106:27 349
111:5 343
115:12 330
118:12 336
118:26 336
118:133 370
119:5 357
131:1 370
131:14 319
135:5–7 319
135:25 36, 345
145:7 351

Proverbs
2:9 338
14:21 343
14:26 366
15:27 366
24:13–14 331
29:22 356
30:8 370

Song of Songs
1:12 330
1:13 330
2:4 319
2:14 331
4:11 320
5:5 320
5:10 330

Wisdom
16:21 331

Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
1:16 366
10:9 335
15:1–2 350
15:3 346, 350
19:18 366
21:16 342
23:6 370
24:20 330
24:29 351
29:28 344
36:4 370

Isaiah
9:6 326
25:4 367
30:15 351
48:22 331
53:11 356
63:16 315
66:1 319
66:2 367

Jeremiah
3:4–5 329
13:2–8 328
13:9 328
13:11 328
50:45 342
51:1–2 342
51:6 356

Ezekiel
18:23 339
18:32 339
33:11 339

Daniel
4:7–9 372
4:9 372, 373

Hosea
11:4 342
13:6 349

Amos
3:6 359

Jonah
2:8 338
2:9 338

Micha
6:8 338

Zephaniah (Sofonia)
2:10 329

Matthew
1:16 327
1:21 327
4:4 346
5:7 343
5:8 337
5:9 331
6:9–13 30, 52
6:9 316, 321
6:10 332, 337
6:11 343, 345
6:12 351
6:13 357, 364
6:14–15 355
6:15 354
6:34 345
7:6 351
7:13 362
8:31 349
10:16 362
13:41 332
13:42 332
15:16 336
23:8 316
23:9 327
25:34 333

Mark
5:9 349
5:12 349

Luke
1:49 326
1:53 351
10:9 333
11:3 345
11:13 316
14:15 348
16:19–31 350
16:22 350
17:21 333

John
1:12 329
5:26 317
6:40 339
6:44 332
6:45 346
6:51 347
6:57 347
8:44 328
8:49 315
8:49–50 315
14:2 320
14:23 341, 342
17:21 333
20:17 316

Acts
17:28 315

Romans
3:23 330
3:24–25 329
5:21 333
6:11 333
6:12 333
7:18 337
7:22–23 339
7:25 339
8:12–13 353
8:17 315
8:23 329
8:24 336
12:19 356
13:8 353

1 Corinthians
13:12 346
14:15 372

2 Corinthians
3:18 348
5:7 336
4:6 357
6:4–13 319
6:15 349

Galatians
4:6 35, 312
4:7 315
5:19–21 356
5:22 372

Ephesians
2:21 319
5:5 335
6:12 360

Philippians
3:20 40, 318, 319

Colossians
3:15–16 331

1 Thessalonians
4:3 339

1 Timothy
4:8 363

Hebrews
3:13 346
11:39–40 329

James
1:2 357
1:12 342, 357, 358
1:13 359
1:18 315
1:20 356

2 Peter
2:9 363
2:14 335

1 John
4:19 49, 314

Apocalypse (Revalations)
1:5 327
2:9 333
3:14 367
7:14 326
16:10 333
22:18–19 355

Index of Ancient and Medieval Authors

[*Note: The following index includes two sections. The first is an index of Jordan's cited sources. Here can be found the authors Jordan explicitly cited in his work. Jordan cited authorities by name and work, as well as simply by name. Below is indexed the identified author, work, and reference within the work. When Jordan cited incorrectly, or when the citation is a paraphrase, the page reference is marked with an asteriks (*), referring the reader to the Notes on the Work (commentary) for further explanation. Unidentified references are listed as 'non invenitur' under the name of the author Jordan cited. Jordan drew heavily from Henry of Friemar and Thomas Aquinas, yet never cited either author explicitly. Thus these two authors are listed within parenthesis, with the page reference marked with an asteriks (*), again referring the reader to the Notes on the Work (commentary) for further explanation. The same applies for the identified references of Jordan's mis-attributions, with the identified author's name in parenthesis and the page reference marked with an asteriks (*). Here reference is made to the English translation, which is keyed to the Notes on the Work. This first section thus is intended to function as an* index fontium *of Jordan's* Expositio*. The second section of this index is an index of the names of ancient and medieval authors, as well as titles of anonymous works, as cited in the Introduction and in the Notes on the Work (commentary). The names of Jordan's sources are found here as well, with references given to the Introduction and Notes on the Work, and the English translation for Jordan's text itself. These two sections together are intended to function not only as a 'finding device', but also, especially together with the Index of Biblical Citations, as a guide for further research on Jordan's text and his intellectual world.*]

1 Jordan's Sources

Ambrose

De Noe et Arca

16,57 — 163

Anselm

Cur Deus Homo

1,11–13 — 159*

De sacramentis

5,5,4,25–26 — 139*

Aristotle

De historia animalium

8,17 — 198

Ethica Nicomachea

1,6,15–16 — 183*

2,2 — 177*

2,5 — 177*

4,5 — 161*

8,4 — 127*

Augustine

Ad Probam (*epist.* 130)

11,21 — 113

12,22 — 77, 99, 189

12,23 — 189

Confessiones

10,31,44 — 133

10,31,47 — 149

Contra Maximinum

2,14,7 — 81

De civitate dei

10,31 — 89

22,30 — 95, 97

De libero arbitrio

3,25,77 — 97

De sermone domini in monte

1, 4, 11 — 109, 111, 121, 129

1,4,12 — 181

2,3,14 — 79

2,4,15 — 77

2,4,16 — 79, 83

2,5,8 — 91

2,5,17 — 89, 91

2,5,18 — 91

2,5,19 — 103*

2,6,20 113*
2,6,21 125*
2,6,22 125*
2,8,28 153*
2,9,30–32 163*
2,9,32 165
2,9,35 172
2,11,38 159, 171
Enarrationes in Psalmos
60,3 163
61,20 165
104,17 127
145,11 171*
Enchiridion
30,115 133
Sermones
57,7 137*, 139*
123,5 135
347,3 119
Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis
41:3 187
76:2 129*
non invenitur 179*

Ps.Augustine
De cognitione verae vitae
10 89

Bernard of Clairvaux
De consideratione
5,6,13 87
Epistola
254,2 145
Sermones in Cantica Canticorum
20,3 141
27,3,5 93*
27,5,8 91*
27,6,10 93*
54,8 177*
Sermones de tempore
1,2 169
In adventu, 7,1 175
In ascensione, 5,2 167
non invenitur 107*, 139*, 147*

Ps.Bernardus
Vitis Mystica
19 175

(Bernard of Clairvaux)
Sermones de tempore
In quadragesima
5,1 167*

Cassian
Collationes patrum
1 163
9 77, 91, 95, 189
Epistolae
39 175
De Coenobiorum Institutis
4,43 179

Chrysostom
Homeliae in Mattheum
19 79, 91, 103, 123*, 137
non invenitur 181*

(Ps) Chrysostom
In Mattheum
9 159, 161, 181
14 75, 77, 83, 91, 125, 133, 135, 137, 157

Cicero
De inventione
2, 161 151

Cyprian
De oratione dominica
8 83*
13 115
14 123
19 137
22 149
23 155
27 173
28 75, 77, 189, 191, 193

Damascenus
De Fide Orthodoxa
1,9 87

Ps.Dionysius
De divinis nominibus
13–17 127*

Glossa Ordinaria
ad Matth. 5,3 179
ad Matth. 6:8 195*
ad Matth. 6:9 77, 109
ad Matth. 6:10 117, 121, 125, 129
ad Matth. 6:11 145
ad Matth. 6:12 159
ad Matth. 6:13 169, 177
ad Rom. 13:8 151*
ad 1 Tm 4:8 169*–171*

Gregory the Great
Liber homiliarum in Evangelia
14,5 141
Liber Sacramentorum
4.83 75, 77
Moralia in Iob
5,16,33 179
5,45,78 159
21,2,4 167
24,7,13 135
Regulae Pastoralis Liber
1,11 165
non invenitur 177*

Ps. Gregory the Great
Expositio Novi Testamenti
63 113*

(Henry of Friemar)
Expositio orationis dominice 77*, 99*, 107*, 109*, 113*, 115*, 119*, 121*, 123*, 133*, 137*, 139*, 149*, 151*, 153*, 157*, 163*, 165*, 167*, 169*, 171*, 175*, 187*

Hugh of St. Victor
De Arra Animae 109

Ps.Hugh of St. Victor
De Meditando seu Meditandi Artificio 147

Innocent III (Pope)
Epistola
85 157

Isidor of Seville
Differentiarum
1,486 151
Sententiarum libri tres
3,5,24 167

Jerome
In Mattheum
1 115, 139, 145, 187
2 119

John XXII (Pope)
non invenitur 75*

(Pascus Robertus)
Expositio in evangelium Matthei
4 195*

Peter Lombard
Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae
3, dist. 26, cap. 1 117

Rabanus Maurus
In Mattheum
2 187

Seneca
Epistolae
71,23,3 177
71,23,4 177

(Thomas Aquinas)
Catena Aurea
ad Matth. 6:9 77*, 91*
ad Matth. 6:10 125*
ad Matth. 6:11 137*
ad Matth. 6:12 153*
ad Matth. 6:13 173*, 187*
Summa Theologica, II/II
q. 1, art. 8, resp. 79*
q. 81, art. 8 resp. 103*, 105*
q. 83, art. 5 ad 5 79*
q. 83, art. 9 dub. 1 103*, 113*
q. 83, art. 9 ad 1 103*
q. 83, art. 9 dub. 2 101*
q. 83, art. 9 ad 2 101*
q. 83, art. 9 dub. 4 99*
q. 83, art. 9 resp. 103*
q. 83, art. 9 ad 4 99*
q. 143, art. 1 resp. 177*
q. 155, art. 1 contr. 177*
q. 186, art. 1 resp. 151*

Super Mattheum
584 83*
602 173*

(Thomas of Ireland)
Manipulus Florum 167*–169*

11 Ancient and Medieval Authors

Alan of Lille 11
Albert of Padua, OESA 5, 6n
Albert the Great (Albertus magnus) 17
Alcuin 328, 335, 344, 363
Alexander of Aphrodisias 17
Alfonsus Vargas, OESA 13–16
Ambrose (of Milan) 27, 163, 357, 358
Ambrosius de Cora, OESA 6, 7n
Andronicus 177
Anselm (of Milan, St.) 159, 347, 348, 356
Anselm of Montefalco, OESA 13n
Anthony (desert father) 179
Aristotle 17, 127, 161, 177, 183, 197, 341, 357, 366, 367, 373
Augustine (of Hippo) 7n, 14, 15, 16, 27, 31, 40, 77, 79, 81, 83, 89, 91, 95, 97, 99, 103, 109, 113, 119, 121, 125, 127, 129, 133, 135, 137, 139, 149, 153, 159, 163, 165, 171, 173, 179, 181, 187, 189, 312–320, 322, 323, 326, 331, 332, 336, 337, 339–343, 345, 346–348, 351, 353, 354, 357–359, 363, 364, 367–372
Augustinus de Leonissa, OESA 19, 26n, 29
Augustinus of Ancona, OESA 2, 29
Averroes 17

Bede 349
Beleth, John 347
Bernard of Clairvaux 4, 40, 87, 91, 93, 107, 139, 141, 145, 167, 169, 175, 177, 317, 318, 349, 351, 358, 360, 362, 365, 366
Biel, Gabriel (see Gabriel Biel)
Bonaventure 342, 343, 355
Burchard, Archbishop of Magdeburg 5n

Caecilius Balbus (Ps) 361
Caesar Augustus 23
Cassian 27, 91, 95, 163, 175, 179, 189, 311, 312, 318, 320, 357, 365, 366, 371
Cassiodorus 361
Chrodegang of Metz 349
Chrysostom 42, 75, 77, 79, 83, 91, 103, 123, 125, 133, 135, 137, 157, 159, 181, 311, 314, 316, 318, 326, 334, 337, 340, 341, 344–346, 355–357, 367
Cicero 151, 352
Ciprianus spricht 29, 33n, 34, 315, 316
Clement of Alexandria 27
Conradus de Soltau 61
Conradus de Waldhausen 61
Constantine of Erfurt 5
Cyprian 27, 31, 75, 77, 83, 115, 123, 137, 149, 155, 173, 189, 191, 311, 316, 334, 338, 346, 351, 352, 354, 358, 364, 371, 372

Damascene, John 87, 317
Davis of Augsburg 28
Der beschlossen gart des Rosenkrantz Marie 32n
Der Tafel der christlichen Weisheit 22
Diogenes 179
Dionysius (Ps) 127, 342
Durandus, Guilelmus 67, 68, 311, 313, 314, 316, 317, 321, 327, 333, 340, 346, 347, 352, 355, 359, 364, 365, 368

Eggelinus Becker of Braunschweig 41–44, 49, 313, 319, 321, 326, 335, 338, 340, 342, 344, 345, 347, 353, 355, 356, 358, 360, 361, 365, 368
Eugenius III (Pope) 87
Exercitium super Pater Noster 28, 29

Fasciculus Morum 29

Gabriel Biel 2, 14, 29, 39–45, 47–49, 51n, 68, 312–319, 321–328, 332, 335, 338, 340–342, 344–347, 353, 355, 356, 358, 360, 361, 365, 368–372
Gaufridus Babion 60
Gazaeus, Alardus 366
Gerson, Jean 21, 23, 24, 64n
Giles of Rome, OESA 17, 23, 62, 63, 311

Glossa Ordinaria 35, 312, 316, 330, 332, 336, 337, 339, 340, 342, 351, 353, 356, 363, 366, 367, 372
Gregory of Nyssa 27
Gregory of Rimini, OESA 13, 17
Gregory the Great 29, 75, 77, 113, 135, 141, 157, 159, 165, 167, 177, 179, 195, 311, 332, 345, 349, 356, 358, 360, 361, 366
Guido of Monte Rochen 3
Guillelmus de Monte Landuno 46
Guillelmus Durandus (see Durandus, Guillelmus)
Guillelmus Gallicus 7n
Guillelmus Parisiensis 11n, 46

Henry of Friemar, OESA 5n, 6n, 7, 16, 17, 22, 34, 60, 61, 67, 69, 311, 323, 327, 328, 330, 332, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 343, 346, 348, 349, 351–355, 357–360, 362–365, 369
Henry of Langenstein 62
Henry Totting of Oyta 62n
Herman of Schildesche, OESA 7, 16, 17, 46
Hermannus de Petra 18, 19, 26n
Hugh of St. Victor 109, 147, 167, 318, 331, 351, 360

Innocent III (Pope) 157, 355
Isidore of Seville 151, 167, 327, 353, 360

Jacobus a Voragine 219
Jacobus de Cessolis 60
Jean Gerson (see Gerson, Jean)
Jerome 115, 119, 139, 145, 187, 329, 330, 334, 336, 341, 347, 350, 351, 368, 373
John XXII (Pope) 75
John Calvin 1n
Johannes Andreas 61
Johannes de Lana, OESA 5
Johannes Franco (Scholaster Meschedensis) 62
Johannes Müntzinger 62
Johannes von Paltz, OESA 10, 21n
Johannes Trithemius 7n
Jordan of Quedlinburg IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, 4–12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20n, 21–24, 30, 31, 32n, 33–44, 47–52, 54–58, 60–69, 201, 311–315, 317–325, 327–340, 342–345, 347–349, 351, 354–358, 360, 363, 365–372

Leonardo Bruni IX, X
Libellus sacramentalis 45, 46
Lombard, Peter 13, 46, 67, 68n, 117, 312, 315, 335
Louis Peresi 26
Ludolph of Saxony 10–12, 17, 34–39, 48n, 49, 68, 312, 314, 322, 334, 337, 338, 343–345, 348, 349, 352–354, 359, 360, 364, 367–369, 371

Martin Luther, OESA 1n, 2, 14–17, 27, 323
Matthias de Eversberg 61
Meister Eckhart 9, 12

Nicholas of Lyra 16, 61
Nicolaus de Argentina 60
Nicolaus de Tolentino, OESA 7n

Ockham, William 14
Origin 27, 171

Pascus Robertus 372
Paulus Aemelius 13
Pater noster cum expositione summaria 49–50, 68, 315, 328, 332, 335, 337, 340, 343, 349, 353, 360, 364, 365, 367, 368
Peter Comester 347
Peter Lombard (see Lombard, Peter)
Pierre d'Ailly 14, 43–45, 47–49, 62, 68, 313, 314, 319, 321–324, 326, 328, 332–335, 340, 343–346, 351, 355, 358–360, 368
Plato 17
Polybius 13
Priscian 317

Rabanus Maurus 187, 368, 369
Robert Ciboule 26
Robert Grosseteste 61

Sacramentarium Gelasianum 28, 312
Scipio Africanus 13
Scotus, Duns 14, 17
Seneca 177, 366
Simplicianus 7
Socrates 167, 179, 362

Tertullian 27, 31
Themistius 17
Theophrastus 17

Thomas Aquinas 14, 17, 29, 41, 61, 67, 69, 312, 314, 316, 318, 321, 322, 324–327, 332, 339, 340, 342–347, 351–354, 364–366, 368–371
Thomas of Ireland (*Manipulus Florum*) 360, 361
Thomas of Spilembergo, OESA 13, 15, 16
Thomas of Strassburg, OESA 13
Thomas Peuntner 28

Werner Rolevinck 3, 29
Willem Zender of Weert 19
William of Auvergne 46

Index of Names and Places

Achten, Gerard 60
Adam, Bernd 28, 29, 33n
Alba Iulia 58
Anderson, Philip XIII
Angenendt, Arnold 26
Angermünde 5
Arbesmann, Rudolf, OSA 5n, 15n
Augsburg 20, 58
Avignon 47

Baier, Walter 10, 11, 12, 17, 38
Bak, Janos M. 26n
Barfleur 5n
Basel 30n, 47, 50, 58, 61
Bast, Robert XIII, 1n, 4n, 24, 25
Bejczy, István 25n
Berlin 30n, 52, 58, 60, 65, 66
Bloomfield, Morton 25n, 47
Boetius, Henning 54n
Bologna 5
Bornstein, G. 53n, 54n
Bourdieu, P. 55n
Bradley, Robert J. 1n
Braunschweig 58
Brno 58
Bray, Nadia 12, 65
Brinzel, Monica 45n
Brownlee, Kevin 57n
Brownlee, Marina S. 57n
Bruges 18
Brussels 45n, 47
Buckley, Timothy, CSsR XIII
Burger, Christoph 11n
Burns, Camilla, SND XIII
Bushell, Josephine, SND XIII
Bynum, Caroline Walker 26

Carmignac, Jean 26n
Cerquiglini, Bernard 64
Chen, Anna XIII
Cologne 1n, 19n
Cornet, Ineke 19n
Courtenay, William J. 44, 47
Cruel, Rudolf 8, 9
Czenua 30n, 61

Danzig 58
De Meijer, Alberic, OSA XIII
De Vooys, C.G.N. 18n
Dibelius, Otto 27, 28
Douai 43, 44, 47
D'Ydewalle, Stanislas 18n
Dyson, R.W. Xn

Eichstätt 58
Eindhoven XIII
Eisermann, Falk XIII, 50n
Elias, Norbert 24
Eliot, T.S. XIV
Elssius, P. 7n
Erfurt 5, 7, 30, 36n, 38, 52, 60, 67

Faesen, Rob 19n
Flensburg, Johannes 10
Foucault, M. 54
Frankfurt am Main 41n, 58

Gabler, H.W. 53n, 54n
Gersbach, Karl, OSA XIII
Göbl, Peter 1n, 31n, 32n
Gomes, Jules XIII
Göttingen 58
Gow, Andrew XIII
Gracia, J.J.E. 53n, 54
Greetham, D.C. 53n, 54n
Griefswald 59
Groningen XIII
Grundmann, Herbert 26
Guarnieri, Romana 10
Gurevich, Aron 26
Gutierrez, David, OSA 4n, 7n, 13n, 15n

Hackett, Jeremiah 9
Hamesse, J. 53n
Hamm, Berndt 11n, 21n
Hammerling, Roy 26n, 27n
Hankins, James IX, X
Heffernan, Brian 39n
Heilig, K. 62
Heinimann, Siegfried 28n
Henrickx, Frans 19n
Hertel, Gustav 5n

Hildesheim 59
Hobbins, Daniel 21, 23, 24, 30n, 64n
Hollingsworth, Paul A. 26n
Holzapfel, Egidius 3n
Hümpfner, Winfridus, OSA 4n, 5n, 8, 9, 11, 63, 64
Hunt, David 57

Indianapolis XIII, XIV
Innsbruck

Jacobs, J. 18n
Jay, Barbara H. 28

Kienzle, Beverly 16n
Kleineidam, Erich 7n
Kneepkens, C.H. XIII, 19n
Koch, Joseph 9, 65
Kórnik 59
Kunzelmann, Adalbero, OSA 4n, 5n, 7
Kürzinger, Josef 15n

Lerner, Robert 5n
Leuven 18, 19n, 45
Lievens, Robrecht 4, 10
Linsenmayer, Anton 8, 9
List, G. 61, 63
Lualdi, Katherine 3n
Luzern 59
Lyon 18

Mainz XIII, 37n, 41, 59, 60, 61, 63, 67
Magdeburg 5
Mallersdorf 60, 67
Manselli, Raoul 26
Marcolino, Venicio 11n
Martin, Hervé 25, 26
Mathes, Fulgence 8
Matsura, Jun 14n
McGann, J.J. 53n, 54, 55
McGrail, Peter XIII
Mertens, Volker 9n
Moeller, Bernd 21, 22n
Moll, Willem 4
Munich 45, 50n, 59, 60, 61

Netherlands 10
Newhauser, Richard 25n
Nichols, Stephen G. 57n

Oberman, Heiko A. IX, XIII, 44, 47
Opava 59
Osnabrück 59
Ossinger, Johann Felix 7n
Oudenaarde 18
Ouy, G. 53n
Overgaauw, Eef 6n

Palmer, Kristi XIII
Pansters, Krijn 25n
Paris 5, 6n, 46, 47
Patze, Hans 7n
Pierce, G.B. 53n, 54n
Pollmann, Karla XIn
Pommersfelden 59
Powitz, G. 61, 63
Prag 59

Quedlinburg 4

Rapp, Francis 26
Rennhofer, F. 5n
Rieger, Max 32n
Rivard, Derek A. 3n
Robinson, Paul 26n
Rome 2n, 7n
Rubin, Miri 26n
Rudolf, Rainer 28
Ruh, Kurt 57n

Saak, E.L. IXn, XIn, XIIn, 5n, 12n, 13n, 14n, 15n, 16n, 19n, 20n, 21n, 22n, 24n, 30n, 31n, 33n, 34n, 38n, 39n, 46n, 49n, 51n, 52n
Saxony-Thuringia 5n, 7
Schepers, Kees 19n
Schiewer, Jochen 9n
Schinagl-Peitz, Elizabeth 9n
Schlägl 59
Schneyer, J.B. 6n
Schnurr, Klaus 27, 28
Schrama, Martijn, OSA XIII, 39n
Schulze, Hans K. 7n
Schulze, Manfred XIII
Schum, Guilelmus 5n
Schwab, Francis Mary 28
Seitenstetten 59
Siena 5n
Siggins, Ian 46
Simon, Walter XIII

Skemer, Don C. 3n
Slenczka, Ruth 22n
St. Gallen 59
Stasch, Friedhelm 11n
Stock, Brian 55
Stockholm 59
Strassburg 30, 37n, 47, 52, 63

Thayer, Anne T. 3n
Trapp, Damasus, OSA 15, 64n
Trier 59
Turin 6n

Ulm 6n
Uppsala 7n
Urbana-Champaign

Van den Gheyn, J. 18n
Van Engen, John 20
Van Neer, Jos 39n
Vatican City 59
Vauchez, André 26
Venice 6n, 13, 17n
Vessey, Mark XIII

Wackernagel, Wilhelm 32n
Warsaw 59
Weidenhiller, P. Egino 1n, 21, 22n, 29
Weismann, Christoph 1n
Williams, R.G. 53n
Willeumier-Schalij, J.M. 10
Wolfenbüttel 59
Würzburg 30n, 60

Zbior 60
Zeller, Hans 53n
Zumkeller, Adolar, OSA 4n, 6n, 7n, 11n, 16n, 30n
Zumpthor, Paul 64
Zwolle 60